THE

HISTORY

OF THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

BY MICHAEL DOHENY.

DUBLIN:
PUBLISHED BY JAMES DUFFY,
10, WELLINGTON QUAY.
LONDON: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL AND CO.,
STATIONERS' HALL COURT.
1846.

836.

DUBLIN:
STEREOTYPED AND PRINTED BY T. COLDWELL,
50, CAPEL-STREET.

TO

ROBERT TYLER, ESQ.

OF THE UNITED STATES,

IN TESTIMONY OF MY RESPECT AND THANKFULNESS

FOR

THE INTEREST HE HAS MANIFESTED IN THE STRUGGLES OF MY COUNTRY,

AND

HIS GENEROUS ADVOCACY OF HER CLAIMS,

I DEDICATE THIS VOLUME

OF

"THE IRISH LIBRARY."

MICHAEL DOHENY.

Alla Aileen,
Cashel, July 1, 1846.

INTRODUCTION.

For the defects or inaccuracies (if any there be) of the following pages, I offer no excuse. Want of time, the pressure of other cares, my own inability—excellent reasons for not undertaking any literary task—are no justification for its slovenly or imperfect execution. Time prolongs itself for the incessant toiler, and he who anticipates may be said to stay the sun's flight. The vocation of the literary labourer, calling him to his mission of advancing the great creation of intellect in the sphere most useful to mankind, will, if it be true, supply him with adequate inspiration for his undertaking.

But for such mission I have not even prayed. Those with whom it is my pride to be associated, have not been stirred to action by ambition or interest. To be great or successful writers was not our aim or impulse. We saw the teeming intellect of our country running to waste under

the blight of provincialism; and whenever a redeeming ray broke through the gloom, we saw the "*sister country*," as unscrupulous in her love as in her hate, appropriate it to the purposes of her advancement and glory—thus coiling round this fated land like the serpent around the limbs of the doomed priest, which communicated its subtle poison to every member over which it slowly trailed to the seat of life, so that e'er Lacoon's brain was stung, all the rest was a corpse.

With a view of standing in the way of this current of literary life, ebbing away and leaving death behind, we determined to open new though humble sources for it at home, and to tend it there with our hearts and brains, until a new generation and better destiny gave rise to worthier ministers, who in the glow of nationhood would vindicate, for our loved land, her pre-eminence in sanctity and learning. Hence the undertaking of the Irish Library—ambitious, it may be, mistaken, it may be, too sanguine, it may be, but surely not mean, interested, or dishonourable.

My allotted share of the work was the easiest of execution. Any other would be unsuited to me. But its difficulties have multiplied with the success of my friends—the triumph of whose labours has set the nation thinking, and pre-occupied the public taste with refined and healthy sentiments.

Apart from this, my principal difficulty has been that of compression. It will be at once seen that the limits of a volume of the "Irish Library" are too confined for the most condensed resume extending over many years, and embracing a wide range of incidents as varied and as important as ever shed lustre on peace, or spread desolation on the paths of war. Among a great mass of facts, all of singular interest, I was perplexed to select which could be omitted with least disadvantage; nor can I flatter myself that in that selection I shall not disappoint many readers of American history.

For the rest my task has been light. The history of events so recent could scarcely be encumbered with contradiction. The historian's most trying labour has been spared to me, for scarcely anywhere have I been compelled to decide between two authorities, and not in one important matter have I had to search after hidden or obscured truth. One prevailing idea and one only I have felt bound to combat. This involves no fact. It is the embodiment of a belief—a general and wide spread belief, to which some of the greatest names in history have lent their sanction.

The eloquence of Burke and Chatham has consecrated the sentiment which recognises, in

the singular austerity of the puritan's faith, the true if not the only impulse of American resistance. The same belief is the most prominent and gorgeous figure in Bancroft's grand picture of American history. The present first minister of France, as distinguished in the sphere of literature as in the science of government, adds to it the weight of his austere character and celebrated name.* It is hard to say that the genius of the former would yield to the prejudices with which they were beset, so far as to court sustainment by flattering a mistaken religious zeal, which claimed for the doctrines of the reformation the only sure guardianship of civil liberty. Yet the false colours with which their eloquence invested the cause and character of the struggle, cannot be otherwise accounted for. The enthusiasm of Bancroft and of Guizot, supplies the cause, perhaps the justification, of their too sanguine religious delineation.

But sober history everywhere repudiates an inference so flattering to tenets which once identified with themselves the harshest elements of an intolerant civil code. It is far from my purpose to cast imputations on the sincerity or purity of any man's religious belief. I would be still more reluctant to deny to the inhabitants of Massachu-

* Guizot's "Washington" *passim*.

setts a fair share in the glory as well as the hazards of the revolution; and I am glad of an opportunity to mingle my humble voice with that of an approving world in bearing testimony to the virtue and disinterestedness which have there redeemed my coloured fellow-man from shame and slavery. But I have found no fact to justify the assumption, highly sanctioned though it be, that the revolution was solely, or even mainly, owing to the character or influence of any peculiar form of faith. All history recognises the inflexibility, purity, and singleness of purpose stamped on the acts and language of the citizens of Boston, and those who shared their first struggle, danger, and triumph, when they alone sustained the conflict; but it would be unjust to omit that the sympathy and sustainment they received from the other states, in the hour of most danger, were equally noble, and still more generous, for they might not only save themselves, but obtain large advantages, if, when Boston was doomed, they declined to incur the consequences of England's wrath, or to share the peril of averting it. In no single state did a feeling of selfishness, the menace of danger, or the hope of profitable security, sway the public councils. Men of every creed and every country were emulous for the first place in danger, and the last in local or personal advantages.

The facts which, in these pages, I have condensed with the most scrupulous fidelity to truth, will, I think, bear out the opinion that every form of Christian belief repudiates civil degradation and slavery—that the sincerer Catholicity, Protestantism, or Puritanism is, the more securely may liberty rely on its sustainment; and that, on the other hand, the perfection of civil liberty exalts and purifies any form of religion with which it is associated. God forbid that they were incompatible. If, in truth, they were, woe be to the human race.

My effort has been to shew that they are not. If I have to any extent succeeded, my fondest ambition shall be fulfilled.

Originally I intended to group together all my own countrymen who took a conspicuous part in the revolution. I abandoned that intention, feeling that—although my labour, such as it was, had, above all things, for its object the advancement of my countrymen's information, feelings, hopes, courage, and prospects—my impartiality may appear questionable, if I selected them as leading characters in the history of a great people, of whom they formed but a proportionate part.

I will be, however, pardoned if here I refer with pride to familiar names that shed lustre on the struggle of America.

The brilliant career of Richard Montgomery will be found detailed in this volume with fond faithfulness, if not with becoming ability. Sullivan and Lee, two other general officers, will be recognised as Irishmen; and few will be mistaken in the gallant bearing and distinguished bravery of Morgan.

Of Mason, of Wexford, the history of the first war supplies no important details; but in that of 1812 his name held high place. At the age of seventy he slew in single fight the military chief, Tecumseh. And in the same battle was concluded a fierce war with the Western Indians, excited, it is said, by English agents from Canada.

John Barry, also a Wexfordman, obtained the highest distinction in the American navy; and England had cause to deplore that her harsh laws had made him, and many others, an avenging exile.

Andrew Jackson, born on the sea, was the last and the most honored of the Irish. He served in the first, and led the second war, in which the victory of New Orleans crowned him and his adopted country with undisturbed glory.

Ireland,—to turn from the theatre of war,—supplied the American Congress with some of its sternest and sagest councillors. Charles Thompson, its first Secretary, who signed officially the Declaration of Liberty, was an Irishman. Of

those who attested that great document, some were Irish and many the sons of Irishmen.

Among these "Charles Carroll, of Carlton," was the most distinguished. His residence is added to his name. Why it should be so in this only instance is thus accounted for. There were several of the same name in the province. No man signed the Declaration except at the risk of life and fortune, should the republican arms be broken. When writing his name he was told he might have a chance to escape among a great number of namesakes—he added, at once, his residence, to prove how unwilling he was to avail himself of the circumstance.

In abandoning the design of interweaving with my narrative the particular history of those I have mentioned, and some others of my country, it was matter of great regret to find that I could not, with any justice to the main events of my subject, afford space for the highly interesting details connected with individual character. There are few who would not wish to know more than I have been able to tell of Franklin, Jefferson, Henry, Rutlege, Adams, Harrisson, &c. Each name would, in itself, suggest and supply a history; and I have preferred to leave them unnoticed in the notes, to giving a necessarily brief and unsatisfactory epitome of their history.

With still deeper regret I have been compelled

to give up an object which I had in view,—namely, to describe in detail the varied and singular incidents of the war of posts. The American conflict was truly a guerrilla warfare, and its success was principally owing to the skill and intrepidity with which those posts were disputed.

It is quite possible this may be dangerous ground, yet I cannot help saying, that defensible positions scattered through the country, and the ability and skill necessary for their maintenance, are the last and surest safeguards of a population struggling for liberty. And it is fit that all men should know their value. They may have had superior advantages in America, where vast forests intervened, and the march of armies was so difficult except on the principal lines of road. But in every country they are available in a greater or less degree. In Ireland they are eminently so. Except along the coast it would be utterly impossible to preserve a communication between an invading army and its stores, with a population so numerous that at an hour's warning 20,000 men could be concentrated on any one point along the line.

To know the advantages, whether military, commercial, or social, which his country presents, is the duty of every upright citizen. If a jealous law brooks with impatience and suspicion his

examination of these things—his inquiry how far they may be turned to account—thereby it stands condemned. And wherever his apprehension so far prevails as to induce the neglect of what it is becoming in a free man to know, the citizen is a slave, and the government despotism. I do not think so meanly of my country or so harshly of its government. I believe it to be quite compatible with its ease as well as its permanent security, that the Irish people should thoroughly understand and know how to make use of their country's capacity for a military struggle.

If it were otherwise, what a lesson for the world! "England," might well commune some new Napoleon, "has millions of subjects whom she has kept untaught because she dares not trust." To what conclusions such dangerous logic may lead, this is not the place to conjecture. But, considering England's name, her great prestige upon the earth, her dazzling empire, her old renown, her letters, her flag, her bulwarks of the ocean—things she knows so well to prize, and offers this long-stricken land a share of—it is beyond the wildest probability which ever visionary dreamed withal, that we should use our knowledge and our strength against her, reject such offers, and prefer work and hunger, and danger and death.

Nor is the supposition to be even canvassed on any ground save a living and stinging sense on England's part that the wrongs she has done us must sooner or later be avenged.

Enough of this. It has been too often said, that we do not want or wish to war with England. The assertion is not believed for the reason already given. The very argument was unblushingly urged by the opponents of English negro emancipation. But the event has proved that it was a fallacy.

The only consideration, however, that weighed with me was, that I could not follow the enterprising chiefs of America to the passes, and fords, and forests, and mountains which they defended or won, and recount in detail their sufferings, and chivalry, and triumphs, without too widely disjointing the unity and concord of the great members of my subject. Hereafter it may become a question with me, whether the American guerilla and naval enterprises may not claim a separate volume.

For the present I have done.

THE HISTORY

OF

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER I.

First Day of the Revolution—Brief Retrospect of the Colonisation of the States—Early History and Progress of Virginia.

On the 14th of September, in the year 1768, a deputation of peaceful citizens, six in number, were seen proceeding through the streets of Boston towards the house of General Bernard, then governor of Massachusetts Bay. They were commissioned by a public meeting assembled in the town-hall, to disabuse his mind of erroneous and angry impressions, either feigned, or felt, in reference to the determined part taken by that state in the controversy (it was but a controversy then) going on between the colonies and the mother country. We know not if the journals of the day announced that he received them with grace and condescension; but their dismissal was abrupt and their report unsatisfactory.

It was heard with chagrin and regret, yet with no want of firmness. The meeting proceeded to pass strong resolutions, recommending the immediate establishment of a Convention, and attesting the right and duty of every free citizen to provide himself with arms,* for defence of the public weal. On their way home from the assembly, men were seen collected in small groups, knit closely together, and vehement in voice and gesture, as if discussing some perilous probability; and, from that day forth, decision and courage were substituted for concession and compromise, in the language and conduct of the American people.

The more clearly to comprehend the cause, origin, and first progress of that mighty contest, whose condensed history these pages embrace, a brief retrospect is necessary. At the above period the British colonies forming the fundamental states of the present North American empire, were thirteen in number, extending from the Gulf of Florida on the south, to the River St. Lawrence on the north, and from the Atlantic Ocean to the Ohio—a vast territory, with considerably less than three millions † of in-

* "Resolved.—That as there is an apprehension in the minds of many of an *approaching war with France*, these inhabitants who are not provided with arms, be requested duly to observe the laws of the province, which require that every householder shall furnish himself with a complete stand."—(Resolutions, 14th September, 1768.)—*Marshall's Life of Washington*, vol. iii. p. 70.

† "The census (that of 1790) shows that the population of the country had been over-rated at the revolution;

habitants, scattered thinly over its surface. Broad rivers, as yet unprofaned by steam—lofty mountains, on whose heights the foot of civilized man had not reached—and illimitable forests, whose depths seemed inaccessible to the adventurer—rolled and rose, and spread, the giant landmarks of this new world; but neither walled towns, nor magazines of war, nor guarded frontiers, nor old associations of renown, were there to suggest the ambition of a separate history and an independent destiny.

The thirteen colonies were—Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Delaware, Connecticut, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Georgia, and New York. These were planted at different periods, under different English monarchs and different auspices; but at this time all enjoyed nearly the same privileges, and claimed a common liberty. Some had been of slow and difficult growth; others acquired at once great prosperity. The history of their infant struggles is interesting to the curious inquirer; but for our purpose a concise resume will be sufficient.

There is no historical fact more generally known

for, supposing the rate of increase to have been before that can be ascertain it, the people of the thirteen colonies at the time of the Stamp Act, fell considerably short of two millions; and at the declaration of independence they did not reach to two and a half millions." (*Progress of Population and Wealth in the United States in Fifty Years*, p. 16. New York: 1843.) The English accounts estimate the inhabitants at about three millions. The difference is trifling, and, as far as the great results of the revolution are concerned, little worth a controversy. †

than the discovery of America by Columbus, a Genoese, then in the service of Spain. That singular man conceived the daring design of sailing under the globe of the earth, and thereby shortening the passage to the East Indies. He applied to various courts in vain for means and authority to attempt this bold experiment. At last, under the protection and flag of Spain, he left Cadiz, in the autumn of 1492; and on the 14th of October one of his crew caught a glimpse of the rich world that, stretching almost from pole to pole, intercepted his passage. Of all man's discoveries, this was the greatest; and to Columbus belongs its unclouded and undivided glory. Two years afterwards, the theory being then more generally recognised, Henry the Seventh of England issued a commission to one Giovani Cabot,* a Venitian, to make a second trial of exploring the north-west passage to India; and that adventurous sailor, or his son, Sebastian, who succeeded him, touching at a point as far north as Labrador, directed his course southward, and coasted the American continent, nearly to the equator, without effecting even a landing. Failing in his grand search, the voyage of Cabot seemed unproductive; but in after times it furnished England with its oldest, if not its only, title to this immense extent of territory. The claim of ownership was, however, long unasserted; nor was it till the reign of Elizabeth that any steps were taken to colonise those new dominions. In 1578 Sir Humphrey Gilbert ob-

* He gave England a Continent, and no one knew his burial place.—*Bancroft's Hist. of the U. S.*, vol. 1, p. 14.

tained letters patent from her Majesty, investing him with authority to that purpose. Those letters patent were America's first charter, and though none to whom they were directed lived to take advantage of them, they are important, as unfolding the germs of that liberty around which have grown up the great institutions of the American republic. Their provisions secured to the adventurers broad lands and as wide a freedom; but those who committed themselves to the perilous enterprise found, instead, desolation and death. Some returned, after years of vain and wasting toil, with shattered health and ruined fortunes; others settled on the wild coast, and were never seen or heard of afterwards. The attempt engaged the daring and ambition, among other great men, of the too renowned and unfortunate Sir Walter Raleigh. But of all those who were tempted by the royal bounty, not one took permanent possession of more than his grave's compass of American soil; and her Majesty's acquisition in her new empire was confined to a flattering name given to a fair district in honour of her boasted virtue.

Elizabeth's patent invested Sir Humphrey and his successors with uncontrolled authority in the government of the new colony; gave him and his heirs for ever the ownership of whatever lands he may choose to claim; and made provision "that the inhabitants of those lands should enjoy the privileges of free denizens, or natives of England," reserving to her Majesty only the fifth part of whatever gold or silver ore might be discovered. Though none survived to enjoy those liber-

ties, it was English freedom, thus transferred across the Atlantic, and the bold theory of the British Constitution, which asserts that no man shall be taxed but by his own consent, that furnished the principle around which, in after times, clustered those elements of antagonism which were disputed on many a field of blood.

During the remainder of her reign, the Queen was busy in planting remorseless colonies nearer home. She had little leisure to think of the fate of those to whom she gave the lands of the Indians, so hotly pressed were the more favoured adventurers among whom she parcelled the green fields of the native Irish; and her robber banner, that might have waved in easy triumph over the defenceless red men, was more than once torn and trodden down beside the troubled stream of the Blackwater. Her Majesty found the colonisation of one country enough, and for years America was forgotten.

About the end of the year 1605 an association was formed in London, chiefly owing to the genius and enterprise of a prebendary of Westminster, named Hackluet, and to their petition letters patent were accorded by James I., on the 10th of April, 1606. This association was divided into two companies, called the London and Plymouth Companies, and to each was appointed a council of thirteen: the creation of the Monarch, and removable at his pleasure; who were to govern the colony agreeably to a code of laws, which the King took great pride in preparing. These councils were again subordinate to two similar councils, resident in England, also the creatures of the royal will.

The charter was pedantic, and the laws capricious; rendered still more insecure by the uncertainty which prevailed with respect to the supreme executive authority, which was vested in both the American and English councils. The first colony, one hundred and five men, left the Thames, under command of Captain Newport, in December, 1606, and on the 26th of April following arrived at their destination. Touching at Cape Henry, on the mouth of the deep and placid stream called by the natives Powhatan, they sailed up that river for some distance, until, meeting an inviting spot on its north bank, they destined it as the cradle of their infant enterprise. Here they fixed their home, and in honour of their patron called the first huts Jamestown, and the river upon whose banks they stood James river. The early years of this colony were spent in domestic contention, perpetual danger, tumult and anarchy. Discordant councils, personal strife, want of bread, and the reprisals of savage war, frequently brought them to the verge of destruction, from which one man of surprising energy and matchless courage invariably saved them. This man, John Smith, was, by turns, their deliverer and their victim: the very qualities that fitted him for a saviour in their worst emergency, being those that most subjected him to their persecution and hate. He was eminently gifted, and his self-reliance bore him safely through difficulties and dangers seldom met in true history. Almost alone, he explored the country for thousands upon thousands of miles; met the Indians by flood and forest, and fought or conciliated them as occasion required.

He was at last captured, brought to the city of the red men's King, and doomed to death as a robber and invader. From this fate he was snatched by the King's darling daughter, Pocahontas, who afterwards became the wife of an Englishman, named Rolfe, which may be regarded as the first alliance between the savage and civilised inhabitants.

During the strange vicissitudes of the colonists' fortunes, they received an accession from home. The new company is thus described by the historian* of the colony:—"A great part consisted of unruly sparks, packed off by their friends to escape worse destinies at home; and the rest were chiefly made up of poor gentlemen, broken tradesmen, rakes and libertines, footmen, and such others, as were much fitter to spoil and ruin a commonwealth than to help to raise and maintain one. This lewd company, therefore, were led by their seditious captains into many mischiefs and extravagances. They assumed to themselves the power of disposing of the government, and it sometimes devolved on one, and sometimes on another. To-day the old commission must rule, tomorrow the new, and next day neither; so that all was anarchy and distraction. These scenes, the departure of Smith, the attacks of the savages, and other misfortunes, brought the colony so low that, in May, 1610, they embarked once more for England;" "none," says another historian,† "dropping a tear, for none had enjoyed a day's happiness." They were met in the river by

* Mr. Stith Hist. of Virginia. † Mr. Chalmer.

Lord Delaware, with three ships, and induced to return to Jamestown; and now we may consider this colony as finally settled.

Following the history of Virginia, we find nothing to interest us in the contentions and difficulties that marked its course, until the year 1619, when Colonel Yearldy, newly appointed Governor by the Company at London, declared his intention of convoking a colonial assembly. The first assembly met in June that year, representing seven boroughs founded in the colony, and was called the House of Burgesses, a name the popular branch of the legislature ever afterwards retained. Two years after, the Company passed an ordinance establishing the constitution of the colony. This constitution provided that there should be two supreme councils in Virginia, one to be appointed and displaced by the London Company, and the other to consist of two burgesses from every town hundred and settlement in the colony, chosen by the inhabitants. With the latter sat, *ex-officio*, the Governor and council, and they were invested with supreme legislative capacity, their acts being subject to the negative of the Governor, and not to be received as laws until approved of under seal by the Company.

Soon after a general massacre was attempted by the Indians, and the colony suffered severely from other causes. Loud complaints were made against the corporation; and James, attributing the disasters of the Virginians to their popular form of government, by writ of *quo warranto*, tried in the King's Bench in England, annulled the grants to the corporation, and revoked all au-

authority, judicial and legislative, into his own hands. The House of Burgesses, however, continued to sit, and refused to renounce their powers. James issued a special commission, taking no notice of the assembly, and vesting all authority in the Governor and twelve councillors. His successor followed the same arbitrary course. In this uncertain state the affairs of the colony continued until the domestic troubles in England left it for a while to its own resources. Nor did it feel the shock of civil war, although engaged in rather stubborn controversy with the long parliament, for we find its prosperity greatly increased, and its constitution better defined, at the period of the restoration. In fact, Virginia was one of the first parts of the British dominions where Charles II. was proclaimed King. On the death of Mathews, the creature of the English parliament and tyrant of the American province, the Virginians called on Sir William Berkely, a known loyalist, to resume the government, and pledged in his cause their fortunes and their lives. 'Twas a stern and dangerous issue, which fate spared them the trial of. The first thing they heard of Cromwell was his death, and the next, that England had ratified the choice of their preselected King.

Nothing, the first contest of that province, indeed of America, with England, was in favour of loyalty; more is this the less remarkable, when we consider that the Virginians resented in the strongest spirit the arbitrary grant of Maryland to Lord Baltimore by the father of the exiled King. They regarded Maryland as theirs, and the patent that vested this right as a violation of their charter. Nat-

withstanding this, they peralled all for the fallen monarch, and on his restoration their joy was as unbounded as it was sincere. They had yet to learn the fickleness of royal gratitude. But soon and surely did that bitter lesson come. Charles thanked his deliverers, rewarded his enemies, and taxed them all. The imposition was light, tempered with an advantage in the monopoly of growing tobacco, and though the colonists felt disappointed and sore, history is satisfied to call their restiveness by the mild name of discontent.

CHAPTER II.

Settlement of New England—Singular Religious Contest—Last Struggle and Fate of the Piquod Nation—Maryland, its Institutions and Disasters.

The resources of the Plymouth Company, already mentioned, were feeble and uninspiring. Inactivity, sure result of weakness, followed. The rewards of the enterprise were cold, and dim, and distant; and its excitement could stimulate only men of high genius and great daring. The feelings of the age were rapidly maturing such men; and under every discouragement that could chock adventure, the first expedition of the Plymouth Company was undertaken, under command of Popham and Raleigh Gilbert.

They landed on a cold and barren coast, 1607
took possession of a piece of grounds near the river Sagahadoc, and built Fort St. George.

The brief history of this expedition is one unvarried scene of calamity. Sickness and hunger, associating with penury, cold, and hard profitless labour, made sure havoc among the people. The dawn of spring, that might have been the harbinger of a better fate, saw their resources entirely exhausted, and their ranks sadly thinned. The only spot they had really reclaimed was the churchyard, which embraced, among others, the remains of Gilbert and Popham.* The wretched remnant forgot every consideration of hope and ambition in their eagerness to enjoy once more the mild climate and idle habits of their native island. Their horror, falsest of historians, pictured a scene of so much desolation beyond the ocean, that even courage for a while shrank from a second trial.

Perhaps it is wrong to call this the first expedition. One vessel had previously hoisted her sails, and bore a crew of adventurers, but she was captured on her way by the Spaniards, and never saw either the land where she was fitted or for which she was destined.

The motives and advantages of further voyages began and ended with the success of a fishing cruise. But, one of those engaged the genius of John Smith. He had higher aims than confined the researches of his predecessors in that

* Bancroft denies this, (vol. 1, p. 268,) saying that only one of all the Company died, without, however, quoting his authority. He cites Chalmers, whom Marshall follows, to contradict him. I have preferred the united testimony of both, to what appears to be a quotation without a reference.

trade. He explored with the minutest accuracy the tract of territory since called New England, and now comprising some of the most influential American states; sketched it in a map, and presenting it to the Prince of Wales, who undertook its baptism, was dismissed, to claim from a less grudging world the glory of being the dauntless explorer and first historian of a noble country.

But the spirit of enterprise in the Plymouth Company had expired. Even Smith's genius and success failed to stimulate an imitator; and the Prince contented himself with tracing extensive lines of boundary on a picture. A singular spirit, however—which a few obscurely entertained, and all else who heard of it derided—was planning the realisation of a new faith and a new empire on this distant territory. There had been a sect in England called Brownists—reformers upon the reformation—the democracy of whose tenets was intolerable to the church. They were not too obscure for persecution, which wafted them to a foreign land to find repose, and from repose certain extinction. From this mischance ambition, or interest, or true enthusiasm, rescued them. At Leyden, in Holland, where they settled, they felt themselves becoming absorbed. History traces with eager curiosity the singular career of these people. Whatever their motives were (and the best shall not be denied them), their greatest horror was that of losing their identity. They found peace destructive. Those who led them saw the value of adventure, and fixed their gaze upon it as a new star. They petitioned the Lon-

tion Company for land, offered strong willing hands hard with labour to turn it to account, and only prayed for liberty of conscience to be granted under the great seal of England. The Company listened, but the King refused. The adventurers at first were obstinate, then hesitated, and finally accepted the authority to found a colony, with all its dangers to their worldly and divine interests.

1620. A single ship bore them from the shores of England a second time. Their destination was the northern part of Virginia, but design or accident wafted them to a more fertile country and a better destiny. The coast was cold and uninviting, called by fishermen Cape Cod; but the winter was upon them, and they feared worse disasters if they again trusted to the sea. While yet upon the water, they made a covenant with God and with one another.

The great principles of their constitution were equality of rights and community of property, which involved this most fearful of consequences, that a whip should be put into the hands of some man, strong by authority, to scourge the back of the lazy. And this was called freedom—

History refuses to record whether women had been whipt, but they were denied any share in framing the law, and, coupled with that, we shudder not to find some proof that they were exempted from this its terrible punishments—

Adventure and peril, always essential requisites in the growth of inflexible dogmatism, were not now wanting to the Brownists. Famine, pestilence, and death hovered over their early labours

and mistaken rigour. These were dread antagonists, and might have prevailed, with the aid of that religious liberty which, by a strange exertion of its own strength, from being a suppliant became a power, and moulded the laws, from which it was its chief mission to be exempt. The adulterer died by the hangman's hands, and the most industrious in the gripe of ague or of fever; yet the laws were unrelaxed, and destruction, coming fast and hotly upon them, was checked by the union of the colony with a new people—the different emigrants who established the colonies of New England.

It seemed the fate of the unfortunate Stuarts to transfer, with their enlarged authority and despotic principles, the troubles and calamities that tracked the footsteps of their race. With their accession to the English throne came that silent spirit that moved through the land, at first felt but slightly and at intervals, but gaining strength as it progressed, until society appeared the convulsion of order, and division and strife were England's household gods. Cavaliers and Roundheads in embryo sat at the same table, and the spirit of Laud and Calvin mingled in the same chalice. While civil strife, in the impending and gloomy future, was "casting its shadows before," the timid and pious, influenced by fear or a love of liberty, cast their eyes upon America, as if on a middle state between this and the next world, where they might realise the fond triumph of Antoninus in the liberty of the soul. Emigration increased with the growth of discontents. Liberals in religion and liberals in politics united in such-

ing to the new world for a safe asylum and a fair field. With such efflux dissatisfied royalty at last interfered, and an order in council, made by Charles I., forbad further emigration.

1633. This order, rashly made and feebly executed, was from time to time renewed until 1637, when—was it fate, or was it sleepless justice, or was it the blind folly of a doomed man?—a royal proclamation furled the sails of an emigrant vessel, having on board Hampden, Cromwell, Pym, and Hazzlerig. Destiny of nations, did the guiding hand of Providence interfere here? The spirits that brought Charles's head to the block might have given America another fate; and had they then quitted her shores, a fallen dynasty may yet preserve the throne of England.

But the fortunes of New England—wrecks of the civil storm cast on this far shore—demand our care. In the series of years from the time that England began to tremble angrily to the touch of the Stuart genius—so rife with a commixture of much that was right kingly with much that was despotic, pedantic, and contemptible—to the above year, many impulses, acting upon characters different in everything but the spirit of adventure, crowded the shores of New England. The last page beyond which this history cannot go, warns us against the temptation of tracing their interesting adventures. How they suffered, struggled, and succeeded, other pens, with more time and scope, have already told, and will again tell; mine must hasten to its more confined task.

Salem was the first town of Massachusetts

Boston, which has since outstripped it, was of later growth. But after these towns were built, and the new settlers multiplied by thousands, a dire spirit of religious controversy threatened the fate of a new empire. The Puritans, having escaped from persecution at home, and seeing in their own faith the triumph of truth only, with an enthusiasm that preferred guilt to inconsistency, proscribed all who were not of them; and this in a covenant to which their daring sanctity made God a party. Their usurpation of the divine authority was based upon the assumption of their own perfection; and, with a sort of jealousy of His great prerogative, they condemned here all those they supposed or *hoped* he would damn hereafter.

Some men, of loftier principles and a truer appreciation of religious liberty, condemned this doctrine. Distinguished among them was Roger Williams, who united in his person the extremes of puritanism and toleration. In the church he refused communion with any who, ere their exile, associated with the Episcopalians; and in temporal station and municipal advantages he maintained that equality was the right of all. His tolerance procured his banishment; and the result of that exile was a new state called "Providence," where democratic institutions found strength and security in religious toleration.

Meantime Massachusetts Bay was fated to be the theatre of a strange controversy. Perfection split into two sections, one of which claimed to be above the standard. At the head of the

latter was a Mrs. Hutchinson, who assumed the direction of, what we may be pardoned for calling, the pre-elect. She had illustrious disciples, among whom Cotton and Vane, the son of Sir Henry, held high place. The former was a distinguished minister; and the latter had imposing qualities to fit him for this singular mission. Their faith was, that there were two covenants, one of grace and one of works, the former of which was of infinite superiority, and where it dwelt there also dwelt, of necessity, the holy spirit.

The controversy was conducted with fierceness, tempered by appointed days of humiliation, fasting, and prayer. The deliberations of the church filled up the intervals, and its last decree was the banishment of Mrs. Hutchinson; and she, too, became the foundress not only of a religion but of a state—Rhode Island.

While these scenes distracted the energies of that group of colonies forming together New England, the first James and Charles, jealous of their rising prosperity and peculiar institutions, sought by various modes to circumscribe or destroy their liberties. Where these liberties were created by charters, it was determined to withdraw them, and where they arose from the spontaneous growth of voluntary confederations, the royal commissioners had authority to annul or regulate them. In all the vicissitudes of this contest with royalty, the colonists of every new state were equally inflexible. Among other revolutions which time and sternness effected for them, was entire exemption from the Company at

home; and, though judgment was given against Massachusetts in a *quo warranto* in England, the reply of the colonial assembly was a petition, denying its justice, and disobeying its mandate, but commencing and concluding with an assurance of fidelity, loyalty, and submissiveness.

Connecticut, another New England state, was a delegation from the state of Massachusetts, and the result of a religious difference. Here the exile was voluntary and friendly. A dissatisfied minister named Hooker, with new confederates, petitioned the state authorities to be allowed to go in quest of other lands, which was granted on condition of fealty and allegiance. Their search was rewarded by rich lands and a terrible enemy. A native tribe, the Piquods—not comprehending the right of civilisation to seize upon their hunting-grounds, where their fathers lived, and revelled, and fought, and loved—resolved to resist its encroachment. In face of their preparations for war, Connecticut appealed to the mother colony. But the *discors concordia* was then at its height. The army itself was elect and pre-elect, and the latter refused to march with the former,—so anxious were they, while ready to dip their hands in human blood, to assert their superior claim to justification and purification: results not of goodness but of grace. The Piquods had nearer and more formidable enemies. Another native tribe joined the confederate army of New Plymouth and Connecticut. A mischance only changed the original plan of battle resolved on by their army, which was to attack the stronger position of the Piquods where their

chief in person commanded. The change deceived the Indians, and they concluded that the retirement of the troops was the evacuation of their territory. They changed the appliances and thoughts of battle for those of revel and rejoicing, and the treachery of a native—ever faithful ally of England—revealed the fact to the little army, as it was directing its march on the other position of the Piquods. The advantage this presented was too tempting, and the resolution of the invaders was at once formed. At dawn of day, upon that revelling camp of deluded warriors, broke the shout and shock of battle, and though that shock was well answered by a fierce bravery, the Piquods, after a desperate struggle, fled; and for ever after that nation was scattered,—nought remaining to them of home and household gods; and dependent on the charity of other tribes, among whom they lived as honoured exiles.

Virginia answered the persecution of Massachusetts by a persecution of her own. Her constitution, at first, was one of doubtful toleration; but, acting on a mistaken sense of the law of reprisal, she thought herself justified in banishing every Puritan, because Massachusetts banished every Episcopalian. And, strange blindness! from either state men were exiled who were refused, respectively, an asylum in the other.

For these another state prepared a home. Maryland, which the first Charles granted to Lord Baltimore,* was exclusively Roman Catho-

* Lord Baltimore was an Irish nobleman.

lic. Their institutions, as in the other states, the growth of time, and that spirit of liberty common to all men, were equally democratic, but more tolerant. They fled from persecution at home as fierce as any that followed the other various sects; and they found in America that every state, with one exception, however tolerant of others, refused communion with them. Still they tolerated and had welcome for all comers.

Virginia resented the creation and the settlement of Maryland, but confined that resentment to her quarrels with the government at home, and made no resistance to the foundation of its chief city on land purchased from the Indians near the confluence of the Powtomac. The constitution of Maryland, established about 1634-5. three or four years after the first landing of the colonists, admitted all freemen, without any distinction, to a share in the making and enjoyment of the laws.* By a singular fate, those mild and tolerant ordinances, so well calculated to secure internal tranquillity, did not save this state from a share in the disasters of civil war at home, which scarcely otherwise reached America.

Charles not alone forgot the claims of Virginia when he granted Maryland, but nearly at the same moment he forget the claims of Lord Baltimore, and gave to one William Clayborne

* The asylum of Papists was the spot where, in a remote corner of the world, on the banks of rivers, which as yet were little explored, the mild forbearance of a proprietary adopted religious freedom as the basis of the state.—*Bancroft's Hist. of the United States*, vol. 1, p. 243. Bancroft is the sincere eulogist of the Brownists.

a right inconsistent with that of both the others, the fishery of the coasts. Claybornc (an official in Virginia) obtained his patent through his own or his friends' obsequiousness. He lived to repay Charles as such men should be repaid. His title being questioned by the people of Maryland, and his conduct submitted to their legitimate tribunals, he was convicted of robbery and sedition. A chance escape enabled him to appeal to the King in council, and his sentence was reversed; but his claim to re-assume a license to trample and to rob in direct violation of the charters of two colonies, was repudiated.

His day of vengeance was, however, fast approaching. Charles, so facile to flatterers and obdurate to men of opposing principles, did not live to learn that, in this distant little colony, the wretch he had pardoned found enough of instruments to battle against the royalty to which he owed his life. He led the insurgents to the fight, and the Catholics had the mortification of suffering defeat at the hands of those their toleration had admitted into the state—led by the man in favour of whom royal clemency had interposed to save a life, justly forfeited by his manifold crimes.

And in that colony, the safe refuge of the persecuted of every other,* the refugees, during their day of triumph, re-organised the constitution, which, as newly framed, excluded none but their old benefactors. Dark return for mercy

* And there, too, Protestants were sheltered against Protestant intolerance. *Bancroft's Hist. U. S.*, vol. 1, p. 245.

shown. But it is too often so; nor need we read it, although a bitter lesson, except as another proof that virtue, and justice, and right, are their own surest and highest rewards, and that those who look beyond them are ever disappointed. And it would be a sadder thing still, if history or philosophy, blinded by the ingratitude of those people, did not repudiate the doctrine which, in practice at least, has too much filled the world, namely—that dark deeds, like that we have recounted, justify the merciless law of retaliation. Maryland recovered from this shock, and, with her old laws restored, stood in the front rank of the revolution. Elsewhere, too, a better spirit grew up with time, and as the day of trial approached, the brotherhood of sects expanded into a more comprehensive charity. Almost the first blow of the revolution was sanctified by a vote of universal toleration. But a holier emancipation remained and remains to be achieved. When it is effected, and not till then, there will be no blush for him who writes America's history.

CHAPTER III.

The Carolinas—Locke—Pennsylvania—Penn—New York—Wars with France—Fall of Quebec.

THE provinces now known as North and South Carolina, were a grant from Charles II. 1663 to a company of noblemen. The patent

resembled that of Maryland, and the original constitution of both was identical. In either a proprietary occupied the place of a corporation as the highest branch of executive power. But Carolina is distinguished for realising in its government the theories of the then most celebrated man in the world, John Locke. The people of Carolina applied to him to frame a constitution. He accepted the task; and his fundamental laws were adopted without hesitation or exception. Their first principle was a balance of power, having property for its standard. A spurious nobility, with the law of primogeniture and other feudal restrictions based upon universality of suffrage, constituted the legislative power. This was the parliament: it comprised everybody, and could do nothing To initiate and execute the law belonged to the nobility and proprietors, or their deputies. How long this may live, if worked by men as sage as its founder, there are no means to determine; but the young legislators of South Carolina found it inappropriate to their wants or above their abilities. Locke's ambition extended the first term of trial for his constitution to one hundred years; at the end of which, all the laws made during that period were, by a self-acting principle, to cease. A new generation were then to judge its efficacy, and re-enact it. And so it was to be from generation to generation for ever. But it did not live the fourth part of the first cycle. By common consent, the fond fabric of the philosopher was allowed to crumble, and the colonists, glad to escape from its greatness or clumsiness, adopted once

1669.

1693.

more the original institutions which their necessities and experience suggested.

Farther north, a genius far humbler in the field of letters, but more experienced in the foundation and government of new states, was engaged in devising a more abiding and wiser constitution. This was William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania. He obtained a grant of that territory in perpetuity, and the next year published his constitution. 1681. His intention in framing this justly celebrated form of government he thus describes:—"For the support of power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power, that they may be free by their just obedience; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery." This intention, as wise as it was benevolent, stamped its impress on the minutest detail of the institutions to which it imparted vitality. In that state neither exclusion nor anarchy nor oppression found place. Stinted as is our space, the interesting provisions of Penn's model of government should not be denied to our readers, but that we find they, too, yielded to time, and by degrees the laws were so moulded that little remained of their original elements save the principle of universal toleration.

New York, originally settled by the Dutch, and called New Netherlands, was granted by Charles to his brother, the Duke of York, afterwards the feeble and unfortunate James the Second. 1664. The claim of the Dutch settlers was as little regarded as that of the

Indians, but the patent omitted the sacrilegious claim to other men's property made in the name of Christianity.* A brief war converted the Dutch settlement into a royal province, whose struggles present no very remarkable incident until it took its place (last of its sister colonies) in the contest for freedom, and became the theatre of some of its bloodiest trials.

Georgia, which did not form one of the original confederation of the states, and obtained its name and constitution from the second George, demands no notice here.

A series of years, from the restoration of Charles to the fall of the Stuarts—an epoch important and dazzling in the history of the Old World—passed over the colonies without effecting any serious change in their political destiny. The Act of Settlement, essential to England, as guaranteeing to her the olden liberties created in her early day—violated by a despotic race, re-asserted through their blood and exile, and now imparting its chief national security to the compact between her and a new race of kings—only confirmed in America the rights the colonists had never forfeited. Time and peace nurtured the genius and developed the resources of the colonies. Gradually their institutions strengthened; and, whether arising from prescription, or charter, or choice, the several governments of

* "To search for heathen lands, not inhabited by Christian people."—Elizabeth's Patent to Raleigh, Ramsay's *American Revolution*, p. 3. "Not possessed by Christian princes or people."—James the First's Patent to Gates. *Ibid.*

the states assumed a native character and native strength, until an event, the most dreaded by all men, threw upon them the responsibility and invested them with the character of a united nation, having a common interest and a common destiny.

This event was war,—upon a larger scale than yet engaged their energies. Hitherto each colony struggled for itself, or a narrow association of some few jointly assaulted the Indians, or repulsed their fierce inroads. The rival ambition of France and England was, indeed, long desolating both hemispheres; and the colonies of New England, Maine, and New Hampshire were necessarily engaged in the border warfare that for near half a century, with brief intervals of peace, laid waste many a settlement both in the French and English possessions. During this desultory strife, many plans were suggested and not executed, many expeditions undertaken and frustrated, and often the most formidable preparations had no result. Its greatest achievement was the fall of Louisborough, in Cape Breton, a French fortification of immense strength. The genius or deception of an enthusiast effected this, almost without a blow. It was invested by the army of New England and a squadron of British navy. An assault seemed impracticable. In this emergency, the besiegers spread a report that some French prisoners in their hands were treated with barbarity. A remonstrance was the natural result, and a French officer, lately taken prisoner, was invited to examine. He was satisfied, and his letter to the

Governor (which the Americans kindly offered to convey) brought the first intelligence of his and his ship's capture. The bearer of the letter affected entire ignorance of the French language, and, becoming thus master of their secrets and fears, his artful representations induced the Governor and Council to capitulate. The testimony of an approving historian is, that the stoutest hearts among the besiegers "were appalled"* at sight of the strength and security which they overcame by stratagem. It may be that the necessities of war justify the use of falsehood as part of its terrible game; but there is no justification, even in the ethics of slaughter, for continuing the French flag floating on the ramparts, to lure convoys of rich booty into the enemy's snare—a ruse which, we are told,† the conquerors practised for several days.

This was the only brilliant episode in that long struggle. Alas! that its consummation should be so stained. But now a fiercer storm was gathering, and more native elements animated the preparation for strife. At the last treaty, France possessed Canada in the north, and Lousiana in the south, and claimed a line of communication between those two vast territories along the Ohio and Mississippi. Here was a grand scheme of aggrandisement. A company of traders, partly English and partly Virginian, either by chance or design, interrupted it, and took their station on the Ohio. Their joint purpose was trade and acquisition; the

* Marshall's Washington, vol. 1, p. 414. † Ibid.

Governor of Canada remonstrated, and when he found remonstrance vain, he gave orders to have the settlement destroyed. This order was promptly executed. Virginia and her neighbouring colonies prepared to resist and avenge; they claimed the land from sea to sea; and, to second that claim, the largest force they could muster was despatched to this distant territory. They surprised the French encampment, and captured the entire force—the commander, only, being killed.

This first victory did not blind them to the danger of their situation; they selected the most defensible spot at the junction of the two large rivers which mingle their identity, at this point, in the waters of the Ohio. They called it Fort Necessity—a name bespeaking, at once, its condition and history. A feeble and imperfect stockade, with a half-finished ditch, was all they could effect, when a large French force appeared before them. The entire army of the Americans and English did not exceed 400 men; they were as many miles from any succour, and a vast forest lay between them and the nearest part of Virginia.

28th May, 1754. Early in the day, the French rushed to the conflict with sudden and intrepid fury. The shock of that onset was terrible, but it was met with the obstinacy of despair. All day long it was repeated and repulsed without any more decisive result than a multiplication of the slain. The Americans fought for that spot of earth as though it were their entire world, and the night closed upon

the conflict, leaving them still in possession. During that night they offered terms of capitulation, on conditions of honour and safety, which were accepted; and next day the remains of the American army, with baggage, and colours, and arms, marched from their well-defended entrenchments in face of a foe at least twice their number, commanded by an able general, M. Villiers.

The man who was foremost in that fight, and upheld her flag unstained, was the future hero of America. He was little more than twenty-two years of age, held superior command but a few days, and even those few days not without grudging; yet it is questionable if, in all his after life of unclouded glory, he displayed more valour, coolness, or judgment, than in this eventful battle.

The war, thus begun, was prosecuted by both parties with desperate daring and varied success for the next eight years; it raged at the same time over an extent of territory stretching several thousand miles, and engaged, at both sides, the terrible arms and savage ferocity of the native Indians. Sad fate, which made those arms clash in the service of opposing foes, alike their invaders and their ruin! This war may be said to close on the day when Wolfe, under the walls of Quebec, yielded up his great spirit to victory, leaving an example of daring and courage, scarcely ever equalled, to after times. By the victory of Quebec, the power of France was broken; and though a desultory warfare, both in the north and south, was long after maintained, she never recovered the blow inflicted on her by its loss.

Montreal afterwards capitulated, conditioning for itself and for Canada, the undisturbed possession and full enjoyment, under the Government of England, of their property, laws, and religion, by the inhabitants. The scene of war thenceforward changed to the south; and though sometimes defeated, and stript of fair possessions, the treaty of Paris, signed on the 3d of November, 1762, accorded to England immense advantages, and almost the undivided glory of that long conflict.

The difficulties and emergencies of these stern trials first suggested to the colonists the idea of a common confederation; it was proposed and adopted by a convention of governors and delegates assembled at Albany, but the principles forming the basis of the union were disapproved of in England as conferring on the colonies liberties incompatible with that nation's supremacy, though the patriots of America were far from satisfied with the doubtful independence secured to their country. A haughty spirit reigned in England's councils: that of the first Pitt, who communicated to one more illustrious than himself, his design, when the war closed, if then in office, to place the colonies on a permanent footing, ascertaining and defining their true relation with, and dependence on the parent state. What the project of this great man was, he never disclosed: other counsels than his prevailed; and, though he lived to shed on the American struggle the lustre of his genius, he was unable to arrest that fatal course of legislation which awoke the energies of the colonists, and propelled the contest that resulted in the establishment of a new and mighty empire.

CHAPTER IV.

First Seeds of Resistance—The Stamp Act—Its Working and Repeal—The Revenue Act—Its Reception and Consequences.

In the war just concluded, the colonists performed a subordinate part. Their offer, to meet its danger and responsibilities by a combined effort, was rejected. The contingent of men afforded by each state was voluntary, and the expense of their equipment and pay was, for the most part, advanced by the British treasury. The continental troops were regarded by the regular army with a feeling little short of contempt. Washington's brief command was an accident; and, though his first achievement was one of everlasting glory, he was forced to yield up his authority, and accept an inferior post. From this post he soon retired in disgust, to the regret of the whole American army.

But the flush of victory, however small the share of its glory accorded to the continentals by the jealous pride of the English army, naturally elated the hopes and ambition of the American people. Conscious strength suggested a desire for a wider field of political action. The language and acts of the Colonial Assemblies bespoke the presence of self-respect and self-reliance. The tone of the whole country sounded

nationally, and the very exertion of this feeling was its best propelling agent. It spread widely, and animated many. Great intellects began to manifest themselves in various parts,—heralds of freedom these wherever they appear, and work earnestly with truth for their changeless star.

In England other elements of thought were tending to an opposite result. A strange uneasiness as to the stature and attitude of the colonies unconsciously stirred the public mind. It was, too, a season of excitement. The greatest energies of the Old World were rudely agitated. Europe had not yet settled from a wide shock. There was a craving for questions above the ordinary, from which the English ministry were not exempt.

But the least questionable motive to be relied on, as suggesting or justifying the American Stamp Act—the primary cause of the Revolution—was a desire of gain. The Exchequer must be replenished, and it was natural that the Minister should fix on means at once popular and amply abundant. Why discuss the question of right? Strength is right. Expediency with strength is its own precedent and authority. If America bore the tax, or were impotent to resist it, history would trouble itself but little with the solution of this question of England's right. But, right or wrong, England was late. America had assemblies in each colony, which were legislatures, or mockeries. The power of making internal regulations—of spending the revenue of a country without the exclusive power of raising it—cannot exist long, except among a feeble or an-

enslaved people. Happily for the Americans, they were neither. They understood their trust and their duties, and were prepared to fulfil them.

The English ministry and Parliament had the rare merit of adroitness. Their title to dexterity is undisputed. They suited the imposition to the peculiar genius of an industrious people. Restiveness under its weight could not fail to interrupt the course of wealth and commerce; and it was hoped the peculiar tendency of America's spirit would brook wrong, rather than risk the rich return of industrial enterprise. If this hope cheered or justified the act, it was disappointed. The pride of vindicating a doubtful supremacy, the hope of gain, and perhaps the consciousness of escaping the danger of an arbitrary law by the dexterity of its application, conduced to the rapture with which Parliament hailed the triumph of the Stamp Act. Dear triumph to England!

But thus will power content itself. In this instance it was irresponsible power. The legislature that passed the law were in no way answerable to those whom it was to affect, whose only resource was prayer. They did not pray; they were indignant. Their petitions became remonstrances, and their resolutions decrees.

This bill, of so evil a fate, passed its final stage, unopposed, on the 22d of March, 1765. The day after, Benjamin Franklin wrote to a friend, "The sun of liberty is set, you must light up the candles of industry and economy."* His

* Ramsay, vol. 1, p. 52. Idem, p. 53.

correspondent, appreciating more truly the character of his countrymen, replied, that "other lights" were more to be apprehended.

The heavy tidings announcing the bill were received in America with feelings of stupified amazement. Had its authority and operation come close upon the announcement, there is no calculating what wonder and terror may do. But, by a provision important to liberty, the first of November was to be the date whence it would take effect. The intervening time was auspicious for consideration and discussion; and soon and surely did they work. On the 28th of May Patrick Henry, one of the most successful and distinguished men in the New World, introduced a series of resolutions in the Assembly of Virginia, one of which resolved—"That his Majesty's liege people, the inhabitants of this colony, are not bound to yield obedience to any law or ordinance other than the laws and ordinances of the General Assembly."* The next was to the effect that he who contradicted this principle by speech or writing was an enemy to the colony. The timid shuddered at the echo of what sounded startling and treasonable; but Henry was inflexible, and his eloquence, far the highest of his country, and perhaps his age, kindled an enthusiasm in the Assembly, which did not subside with the cheers that hailed the adoption of his resolutions, but diffused itself through the land, awaking everywhere the same dissatisfaction and the same determination. And though that

* Ramsay, p. 52. † Idem, p. 53.

[illegible] many a firm voice, not idly denouncing the power of England, but calmly urging that the loss of liberty was worse than death. The vessel that bore the stamp papers—strange instruments of subjection—was welcomed in Philadelphia by the muffled ringing of bells, and the hushed but deep anger of troubled crowds. Whenever opportunities offered, the assemblies of other colonies adopted the example and language of Virginia. At elections the stamp act was denounced. In the letters and instructions of constituencies, the representatives were exhorted to exert every effort of mind and body in constitutional resistance to a measure so odious and oppressive. The stamp distributors—the new placemen, whose pliancy was calculated on to enslave the country—were surrounded, besought, and menaced, where need was.

And resistance, rising above safe control, displayed itself in acts of violence. In such scenes Boston was foremost. Early one morning a venerable tree was found by the passers-by ornamented with two effigies—one the Stamp-master, the other a jack-boot. A crowd gathered round them all day, and towards evening the limb of the tree that bore them was cut down and dragged in triumph through the streets, amidst sounds and shouts of scorn. The Stamp-master was doomed to see this emblem of himself beheaded before his own door. These and similar excesses were repeated from day to day. They were imitated and exceeded elsewhere. At Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Maryland, popular indignation found vent in acts of

lawlessness—in the wreck of houses, furniture, and other property.

On November day, when indignation might be supposed to have reached the excitement of madness, many American towns presented sad but singular scenes. Funeral peals sounded mournfully from every church steeple; long, silent, and objectless processions darkened the streets, as if journeying to the grave of Liberty. Anon a merry peal is heard—gladness lights up the public face, and they go away rejoicing;—they discover that unless they make the grave in their own hearts, Liberty is not to be buried. The next morning rose upon a determined people. Up to this, there was vagueness; then came a palpable thing. Sober history finds the change startling. He who followed one of those mourning trains, so suddenly changed to merry-making, would find it wise to say, "These are a people fit to be oppressed—they meet the blow with idle mummery."

They were, however, another people when came the day to act. The court, the mart, the exchange—these destined scenes for the operation of the Stamp Act—remained unaltered. Learned judges eluded the talisman without which there was to be no validity in their decrees. Merchants exchanged their wares for unrecognised security; even an insolvent's word would be preferred to the most binding instrument upon which the English Parliament had set its magic impress. In every town, in every district, some man rose above the crowd, to stamp the earnestness of talent on the public resolution. And it was sin-

gular, what a host of men, unheard of before, answered the requirement of a great cause and a great country. The Press, that weapon which truth never wields in vain, was then, happily for America, fresh and untrammelled. The passions of faction, more dangerous to free opinion than the tyrant's frown or chain, had not learned to prostitute it to a depraved taste or the thirst for gain. Parliament decreed newspapers should thenceforth be stamped, but they appeared and were read though nowhere bearing the stamp of legality.

Long ere the law was to take effect, a congress, consisting of delegates from several of the colonial assemblies, met in New York. Loudly and unanimously they condemned the bill. Their memorials to the throne and parliament embodied their denunciation, and the principles on which it was founded. They said with one voice: This act is a violation of our most sacred liberties, and if it be not repealed, there is no place for us between slavery and resistance; the latter we abhor, but the former we will not endure.

The same language and feeling could be everywhere read. Manufactures suddenly sprung up to supply the British-made cloths and other articles, which, by common consent, it was resolved not to import. Men and women, too, preferred home fabrics, though coarser and dearer, to the productions of the land that they felt oppressed them. They took honourable pride in clumsy apparel and frugal tables. All English luxuries disappeared.

England saw with alarm these bold preparations. Her industry felt their reaction; and she tasted in her empty and silent workshops the worst dregs of her own tyranny. The Americans found earnest allies where they little hoped, whose interests sincerely seconded the voice of remonstrance. The pride of England, however, was aroused. To repeal the law would be bitter humiliation, and to enforce it instant danger. She bethought her of an expedient: she prepared to give up the substance for the name of power. The same ministry and the same men proposed the repeal of the Stamp Act, ere it had lived a year, but not ere it had sown the seeds of revolution. Baffled omnipotence settled the question thus with its conscience: a resolution was adopted, concomitant with the repeal, "that the Parliament had, and of right ought to have, power to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever." This was at once the revenue and the memento of the Stamp Act. Retiring from the colonies, it seemed like an evil spirit driven from a haunted dwelling and writing its name above the door.

The promoters of the Stamp Act maintained that it was judicious as well as just. Its repeal by themselves after a short abortive life, answers them on one point for ever, and the resolution by which that repeal was accompanied asserted the other to be solved by the disruption of an empire. England and America, blind to their future, made common joy when the stamp act was repealed. The latter disregarded or overlooked the empty claim, by which the former

asserted supremacy in all things. Her joy was excessive, and it was insecure. In two years from the first attempt to tax the colonies, an unknown Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced into the British Parliament a more skilful and comprehensive scheme of taxation. With artful hand he avoided the vexed question, and called the imposition of a revenue a regulation of trade. The right to make these trade regulations had been exercised and acceded to. Nor shall we impugn the sincerity of England in ranking among them this new bill. Her statesmen may have thought the question quite beside the assertion of a parliamentary domination, and they were right in arguing that the burden was light and would be shared evenly.

But, England had now to deal with a strong and enlightened people; they would have borne this load without a murmur, ere their jealousy was aroused and the integrity of their liberty questioned. But, here was the first fruit of the Declaratory Act. Their reasoning coupled this new revenue and that as cause and consequence, and their indignation against the naked assumption of supreme power by England, was tenfold stronger because it had slumbered so long. They spoke of it as a burden and a curse. "Nothing," said they, "is left us but to complain and pay." Another alternative was left, which they did not then consider, but of which afterwards they made noble use.

Constitutional redress was at first sought through constitutional channels. Memorials, remonstrances, petitions, these were tried, and in vain. A hundred

necessity suggested bolder remedies. The vow to abjure everything English was repeated; and strange was that vow kept. The assembly of Massachusetts, then in session, entered a resolution on their minutes, directing that a circular should be written to the respective speakers of the other different assemblies throughout the colonies, requesting their co-operation and assistance in seeking for "a legal and constitutional redress of grievances." This resolution was violently resisted at first, and the house decided in the negative. The next day it was renewed and passed by a very large majority. The governor descended from reproach to invective in his communication with the assembly, which he immediately prorogued. The Earl of Hillsborough, the first colonial secretary of England, adopted the governor's bitterness of feeling and language, and added menace to blame. He called the resolution and letter of the house, seditious and disloyal; and, as if rescinding the resolution could unwrite the letter, he demanded it erasure from the records of the house. A confirmatory resolution was its answer. But, this resolution was not adopted until after several ineffectual attempts at explanation, which resulted in recrimination and defiance. The spirit of haughtiness for a while triumphed, and the House of Assembly was dissolved.

While the house was in angry discussion with the governor, the people with more open boldness were pursuing a course of resistance after their own fashion. A boated of commissioners arrived in Boston, with the trade regulations

disguised resentment assumed the wide shape of subjugation. Some of them as evil things, for exacting the revenues, and some other articles, the gloom of the populace deepened into threatening revenge. Some instances took place. The vessels of war in the bay shifted from their moorings, and, in land and water, everything wore an alarming aspect. An event occurred, trifling in itself, but connected with the revenue laws, which heightened the public ferment into frenzy. The sloop Liberty—an ominous name—belonging to John Handcock, then, and afterwards, honoured by his land, was seized by the officers of the customs for an alleged violation of some rule of the service.

The impulse of a crowd has not a logical standard, but it often has more than its justice. They did not stop to consider the legality of the seizure, but proceeded at once to avenge it. The sloop was removed out of their reach, but they seized on a boat belonging to the collector, and served them for a bonfire. The houses of the commissioners and collector felt their fury, and such were the tumult and danger, that these officers found it necessary to retire to the Romney man-of-war, and leave the tax and duties with her late. The House of Assembly, not yet dissolved, recorded its emphatic condemnation of these scenes, and offered a large reward for the prosecution of the principal rioters. Notwithstanding, however, were brought to punishment. It was in these

troublesome times, the citizens of Boston deprived of the protecting care of the House of Assembly, and a report being rife that two regiments were marching on the town—called the meeting with which the first chapter opens.

Ninety-six towns, and eight districts, answered the call of that meeting. The delegates from these places met, disclaimed legislative authority, and firmly advised strict adherence to the law and constitution. Their sitting was short, and without any marked result. But other events were hastening a crisis: the day the delegates left, the army entered Boston, avowedly to awe its inhabitants.

1769. The two houses of Parliament, emulous in their loyalty, conjointly denounced the measures of Massachusetts as disloyal and dangerous, and pledged the faith of the kingdom to the most vigorous measures his Majesty could adopt. Some warning voices were heard amid the din, but they were unheeded. The condemnatory resolutions passed, and, with the speed of evil tidings, reached the colonies. The assembly of Virginia, guided by the genius of Patrick Henry, proposed and carried counter-resolutions, which again re-asserted the principles of American liberty. Other colonies adopted similar resolutions. Public indignation was assuming the place of discretion; and patriotism, in many places, spring from the questionable source of a dread of popular odium.

To hold town meetings was an old and cherished right of Boston; at these meetings, democratic tribunes held sway. An early resolution of

one of these meetings was—to reship English goods. England once more bowed to this blow—her councils wavered. Parliament, with the echo of its own boast yet ringing within its walls, repealed all duties, except that of three-pence per pound on tea. America met the concessions by a relaxation of her resolutions against British import; but the reservation as to tea, only nerved her purpose to resist, more firmly, its access to her ports. Messages of peace, communicated in a frank spirit, and in strong language, to the colonists, restored public tranquillity, and hope, harmony, and good understanding followed, which fatality, rather than design, suddenly interrupted at Boston.

2d March, 1770. Angry words arose between a soldier and an inhabitant; blows followed; the soldier was backed by his comrades, and the citizen by a number of men engaged on a rope-walk near the scene of the affray. On the fifth of the same month, the spirit thus evoked led to a second quarrel of a serious nature and deadly consequences; three men were shot dead by the military. The riot was quelled, but its spirit lived. The men were buried in one grave, with angry pomp; the soldiers were brought to trial; and, to the honour of the court and jury, in the midst of the public ferment, with popular fury lashed to madness at the sight of blood, the verdict was favourable to the prisoners. Enlightened rectitude! how well it augured for liberty! But an engagement was given that the troops would be removed out of the town, else the efforts of the patriots had been vain to save them from popular vengeance.

New disputes arose in Massachusetts. The Governor was unpopular, and the Assembly firm. The payment of his salary, and that of the judges, was taken out of their hands by the British Ministry; they regarded this as an insult and a bribe; they charged one of the judges with lies and corruption, and impeached him at their own bar. He excepted to the proceedings, and the governor and his council, resenting the conduct of the assembly, made recommendations of coercion the subject of their correspondence with the home government; the letters were intercepted and returned.

Benjamin Franklin, once a journeyman printer, who fills so large a space in the world's history, was then in England, as colonial agent; he was, also, postmaster in America. It was through his hand the letters found their way back to America. This was an evil deed, no matter who the doer, nor has it ever been sufficiently explained, and it is a mournful thing to tell; the pen recoils from so hard a task; and the historian, with whom a truth is above any man's greatness, must blush to associate a vile act with a character otherwise so blameless and honourable.

Did necessity justify it? Willingly would that opinion be vindicated here, did not a grieved conviction withhold its approval. The house of assembly, however, had neither time nor thought to question the propriety of intercepting documents, the contents of which filled them with indignation. They declared the writers traitors to their trusts, and enemies to the colony.

A memorial, demanding justice against them, accompanied these resolutions to England, and on its discussion, before the king in council, Franklin heard, unmoved and mutely, the most stinging invective that the eloquence of Wedderburne could supply. The memory of that day was ever after, sacred with Franklin. Perhaps it is because he felt the bitterness of the sacrifice the greatest man ever made for his country. He certainly had higher aims than personal vindication, and his wonderful genius invested the struggle of his country with everlasting literary interest.

During these years, from 1769 to 1773, the other colonies were rather sympathetic observers than sharers in, the struggle of Massachusetts; and that struggle was indicated in no fixed plan, and no direct object. A sense of insecurity kept the public in a continual ferment, and it manifested itself in a thousand ways, and through the most trifling incidents. In 1773, affairs took a new turn; the resolution of non-importation remained unrelaxed, and was sustained by a resolution of non-consumption. This was the crowning proof of determination and patriotism. Harder, far, to resist the decrees of fashion and the requirements of conventional taste than even popular prejudice. But, in this instance, all yielded to the strong will of the nation. Tea, the most delightful beverage, borrows its chief enhancement from the universal approval of the female world; and yet, delicate women, ladies of fashion, proscribed it as though it were a filthy drug; its presence, at any table,

was deemed a blight upon all the refinements of elegance and luxury. To overcome this feeling, interest and ambition combined. The East India Company proposed to ministers to transfer large cargoes of the hated article and sell it at a low price. The plan was approved of, and speedily executed. The vessels had not put to sea, when America, from her inmost settlement to her shore, rang with denunciation. The obnoxious leaf was regarded as an avenging sword, and, with its progress over the waters, arose indications of resistance and of gloom. Such was the feeling, that in most of the American seaports the captains of the East India merchantmen refused to enter the bays. In Boston it was different; the avarice or obstinacy of Governor Hutchinson secured the detention of the tea ships in the harbour. The people concerted in the utmost alarm. Resistance by non-consumption was voted to be tedious and insecure; they feared the process and the temptation, and boldly resolved to destroy the tea. Seventeen men, in the guise of Indians, boarded the vessels, and emptied much of their cargo into the sea. Whatever may be said of the justice of this act, it was decisive, and its justification is necessarily involved in the feeling on the minds of the colonists that nothing remained to them but the hazard and chances of the last resort.

The British legislature being informed of this act of violence, early in March, 1774, with hasty anger passed a bill, the effect of which was, to place the town of Boston in a state of blockade. Its operation would have other and worse effects;

but it was was quickly followed by two other acts, changing the constitution of the colony, and conferring on the governor arbitrary powers. In pursuance of those statutes, it was resolved to transfer the legislature and commerce of Boston to Salem. The interests of this town suggested a hope that the people would, in their own aggrandisement, sink the consideration of their rival's suffering and fall. Delusive hope, which was not realised in the selfishness of one town. The people of Salem refused the advantages, and claimed a share in the sufferings and resolution of Boston.

This was a time of horror and a time of trial. Impulse began to halt. Boston saw instant ruin in isolation; safety was only to be hoped for from a wide and well organised confederacy. To establish such a confederacy was the first care of those who were now too deeply committed to retract. They calculated, and not in vain, on the courage of the other colonies; their resolutions, acts of assembly, patriotism, were all kindred with their own. But meaner passions found place in America. The hazardous situation in which they saw themselves placed, awoke all the feeble and interested instincts in the land. Fear, policy, selfishness, and a horror of war which the boldest justly entertain, conduced to distract the intention and purpose of many Americans. Then was heard the jarring of disunion and dissension, common to dangerous enterprises, and self-interest occasionally combined with fear to frustrate the aims of virtue and patriotism. Sternest trial of men and states, when these

elements are at work. But courage, impelled by genius, prevailed everywhere. Pennsylvania, with its mild tenets and tolerant code; Virginia, with high church dogmas, and inflexible orthodoxy; Maryland, with a proprietory, and Catholic institutions; New York, where despotic scions were engrafted on a sturdy Dutch stock; and the Carolinas, with their infusion of hot Spanish blood; each nurtured men, enlightened and bold enough at this hour of peril to pledge their respective countries to the common cause and destiny. History presents no nobler spectacle than the unselfish promptitude with which every state, from Maine to George, prepared to risk its fate and fortune in the strife, then gathering thickly round the imperilled capital of Massachusetts.

In the first throes of anticipated convulsion England's agencies were busily engaged. Power and gold she had, and in using them unsparingly she was not so much to blame. Let us not too harshly censure, for perhaps there is no nation that would blush for such practises in a desperate game for wide dominion. We are content to find that here her arts were unavailing. She encountered the fresh energies of an uncorrupted country, and was discomfited. Manlier weapons must decide the contest now. In Massachusetts, where British preparations were most formidable, British intrigue most busy, and war's vengeances most imminent and alarming, the language and acts of men deepened into adequate inflexibility. Provisional and corresponding committees were appointed in all the townships, whose arrange-

ment admirably facilitated such confederation. Boston celebrated the anniversary of the first bloodshed; and upon those days the voice of impassioned oratory spoke to the people as it were from the grave. All was marked by a deep religious enthusiasm, which provoked the jeers of a licentious soldiery, and these in turn became hoarded hate, gathered for a day of vengeance in the hearts of the people. The young literature of the colony, not refined it may be, but not corrupted either, poured its sure, healthy light upon the people's path, from essay and sermon, and speech and song. And while nervous pens traced the way of freedom in the field of letters, the peasant tried his carbine lock, and felt the edge of his forgotten spear.

Our confined limits deny a distinct place and specific mention to very many important facts crowding the annals, not alone of New England, but of all the colonies, during the few eventful years intervening between the passing of the revenue act and the commencement of hostilities. The career of parliament, hurrying from one step to another, sometimes arbitrary, sometimes vindictive, and sometimes vacillating—the quarrels of the house of assembly in Boston with the governor, and his recrimination—the successive town meetings, sustaining the assembly,—the occasional outbreaks—the sympathy of all the other colonies manifesting itself in strong resolutions, remonstrances, and memorials—though occurring at different intervals, and requiring each a separate history, might be said, in their action and reaction, to be cotemporary and simultaneous, so vast

was the field of their operations. While imperial wealth, luxury, and commerce were ebbing from the deserted town of Boston, the current of Henry's eloquence, equally irresistible, was, at the distance of a thousand miles, bringing to every homestead in Virginia that untold power, the consciousness of liberty's presence and the obligation to guard it. Ere yet the arms of America and England clashed, no man had a higher or nobler place in the contest; but events of magnitude exclude individual history here; and many other men, in their own and the other colonies—sedulous, faithful, sleepless watchers—followed or shared his example and glory.

In the midst of the ferment, General Gage arrived at Boston, to unite in his person the civil and military command, succeeding at the same time Governor Hutchinson and Colonel Dalrymple. He was received with outward decency, but with inward distrust and dread. The Americans, assured that they saw in his appointment the true complexion of England's purpose, redoubled their own activity and wariness. A speech attributed to a leading patriot, a short time previous, gives us a true insight into the character of American patriotism. We have room but for a short extract. Thus he addressed a public meeting:—

"It is not the spirit that vapours within these walls that will stand us in stead. The exertions of this day will make a very different spirit necessary for our salvation. Whoever supposes that shouts and hosannas will terminate the trials of the day, entertains a childish fancy. We must be grossly ignorant of the importance and value

of the prize for which we contend; we must be equally ignorant of the power of those who have combined against us; we must be blind to that malice, inveteracy, and insatiable revenge which actuate our enemies, in public and private, abroad and in our bosom, to hope that we shall end this controversy without the sharpest conflicts; to flatter ourselves that popular resolves, popular harangues, popular acclamations, and popular vapour, will vanquish our foes."

This speech closed the deliberations of the meeting which suggested the experiment of consigning the tea to the deep.

The military genius of General Gage, irritated by the stubborn obedience of the council and legislature of Boston, resolved at once to push imperial authority to the uttermost. The general court of Massachusetts assembled soon after his arrival. He intimated to them his intention of adjourning the sittings to Salem, but the court proceeded with the utmost despatch to complete the business, and principally the resolutions and addresses recommending a continental congress. The governor, on receiving information of this, suddenly adjourned the court to the 7th of June, at Salem. His proclamation, summoning the adjourned meeting, met with prompt alacrity, but the members had scarcely assembled at the time and place appointed, when a counter-proclamation, to dissolve them, was forwarded by the governor's secretary. His arrival was announced, and the doors closed against him. He read the proclamation on the stairs, but the court proceeded with business, heedless of the

order, and voted a sum of money to five of their members, to meet the delegates of the other colonies at a Congress to be held in Philadelphia.

1774. On the 4th of September this august body opened its sittings. It was composed of the men in whose courage and ability America had most confidence. When delegates are elected for posts of danger as well as honour, the voice of faction is silent, or finds no echo. Choice is unencumbered with more than one consideration—who is the greatest and best man; and never yet was the salvation of an empire committed to truer hearts than on this occasion. Most of those whose names have shed everlasting light on America's history, took part in the deliberations.*

* The following are the members of this Congress:—

NEW HAMPSHIRE—John Sullivan and Nathaniel Folsom.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY—James Bowdine, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, and R. Freate Paine.

RHODE ISLAND—Stephen Hopkins and Samuel Ward.

CONNECTICUT—Ephilat Dyer, Roger Sherman, and Silas Deane

NEW YORK, &c.—James Duan, Henry Wisner, John Jay, Philip Livingston, Isaac Low, John Alsop, and William Floyd.

PENNSYLVANIA—Joseph Galloway, Charles Humphreys, Samuel Rhoads, George Ross, John Morton, Thomas Mifflin, Edward Biddle, and John Dickenson.

DELAWARE—Cæsar Rodey, Thomas M'Cann, and George Read.

MARYLAND—Robert Goldsborough, Thomas Johnson, William Paed, Samuel Chace, Matthew Falghman.

VIRGINIA—Peyton Randolph, Richard H. Lee, George

Their resolutions and addresses bespeak the presence of useful and matured talent. Wisdom and fortitude impressed their character on the firmest resolves that ever a people formed. Their various addresses were committed to the abilities and discretion of sub-committees, consisting of some of the ablest members, and their clear, succinct, and manly compositions marked the genius of those who afterwards took a leading part in raising up a great empire, and consolidating its security and glory. The chief organisation recommended by Congress was that of a common union, reliance upon each other and upon justice, and a prompt purpose of at any time meeting the worst, while they waited for a satisfactory adjustment as the result of the memorials and remonstrances they had addressed to the monarch, parliament, and people of Great Britain. They also addressed letters to their neighbours of Canada, invoking them, in the name of American liberty, to abstain at least from joining in the project for their enslavement; and concluding with an address to their fellow-countrymen—solemnly commending them to the care of a merciful Providence, and pointing out to them that all further compromise with England would be shame and slavery—that memorials

Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Benjamin Harrisson, and Edmund Pendleton.

NORTH CAROLINA—William Hooper, Joseph Hughes, Richard Cowell.

SOUTH CAROLINA—Henry Meddleton, John Rutledge, Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsen, Edward Rutledge.

body of patriots dissolved themselves, recommending that another Congress should assemble on the 10th of May following.

The following winter was one of gloom and terror. The question between the colonies and the mother country, as it was narrowed into its true, deepened into alarming grounds. Throughout America, the constitutional assemblies rapturously approved the unyielding determination of Congress. The names of its members were invoked as those of saviours, and their decrees blessed as embodying the last and holiest resolution of a banded people. England, or her parliament or ministry, awoke to a true sense of her difficulty.

While Great Britain was endeavouring, by passing coercive laws for New England, and resolutions of pacification for the entire union—her military power in the colonies, concentrated in the town of Boston, was diligently engaged in fortifying its position, and preparing for actual hostility. Ships of war in the harbour, and troops upon Boston Neck, occupied, in the midst of peace, the best positions for laying waste, if need be, that important town. Months passed in these operations, and the spring opened with cold and faint hopes of reconciliation, every day awakening additional distrust and fresh thoughts of vengeance between the army and the people.

CHAPTER V.

Battle of Lexington—Houses of Lords and Commons—Session of 1774-50—Lord North's Resolutions.

THE night of the 18th of April, 1775, closed on the peaceful city without augury of danger from tide or sky. There was no unwonted stir in the market-place or the quiet streets. Men were busied as usual with their daily avocations; and citizens and soldiers, as [illegible] met upon their respective walks, exchan[illegible] angry [illegible]ings. One by one th[illegible] closed [illegible] streets were deserted, [illegible] and [illegible] over camp an[illegible] ut [illegible] [illegible]pless watch, [illegible] [illegible]eparing for [illegible] [illegible] the provi[illegible] had [illegible] [illegible]ed to hi[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] it after[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] arms [illegible] [illegible]onist [illegible] [illegible]pally [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

or the passage by the ferry, through the adjoin-
ing village of Charlestown, because troops could
not march across either, without breaking the
ecure slumbers of the inhabitants. At dead of
night, the first signal of war passed from rank
o rank, in the ill-omened word "forward."
And forward moved, with rapid and noiseless step,
he dark columns of that midnight foray, elate
ith a sense of their vast superiority in disci-
line and courage over the unpretending militia
inute men and citizens, whom it was the object
the expedition to plunder and disarm. But,
spite their precaution, startling indications of
keefulness broke upon the line of march, and
rising intelligence, swift as thought, preceded
many miles into the inner country. Num-
larmed peasants, on foot and horseback,
he way side, in wonder and indignation,
when the mists of morning broke from
groups of wondering country people
ed along them. At the hamlet
place which has given a name
tion of that day, some militia
ere posted on a small emi-
side in front of the village
t Colonel Smith, and Major
officers first and second in
ter was in the first rank, and
ese few men were there to
with the marching army, or
terror into the minds of the
of swift and sudden vengeance,
perse ye rebels." It does not
ether they refused to obey, or

were preparing too slowly for dispersion, or answered the summons as avowed by the English officers with a volley. But shots were exchanged suddenly and hotly, and the little party retreated behind the church, leaving some of their body dead, and some badly wounded, on the field. There has prevailed a stern dispute as to which party first incurred the guilt of blood, on that morning, now so cherished in the memory of the republic. Men were found at both sides to assert, and some to swear, that the first fire came from their opponents. The Americans transmitted to the English parliament the joint depositions of several who witnessed the affray, directly accusing the British army of wantonly, cruelly, and unprovokedly committing murder on unoffending citizens, and their oaths were backed by the very natural presumption that less than 100 men would not risk a conflict, in mere caprice, with an army of nearly 1,000. But this controversy is now of little worth. The British nation is scarcely interested in the determination either way, because the expedition was intended to effect, by force, the destruction of the American stores, in it was a predatory war. In the former case, it is clear the Americans would not tamely submit to the destruction of their property, and the arms they had collected for the common safety, without a blow; and we can hardly conceive it possible that the English nation would prefer being acquired of stealthy plunder, rather than of having the first assault in open and manly war.

But, be this as it may, the army, after the slight resistance, proceeded on its march until it

reached the town of Concord, of which it took possession unopposed. Guards were immediately placed on the different avenues to the town, and the work of destruction was busily commenced. Large quantities of arms, ammunition, and flour, found in the public stores, were quickly destroyed. But, meantime, the troops engaged in this strange duty were alarmed by sudden and successive discharges of musketry, and soon after, by the hurried retreat of a few companies of light infantry, which the commander-in-chief had previously despatched to guard two bridges below the town. A body of minute-men and militia approached one of the bridges, in the guise of travellers, were opposed and fired upon, when a general skirmish commenced, which ended in the confused retreat of the light infantry back towards the main body of the troops. Then commenced a succession of desultory attacks,—the colonists rushing from all quarters to the scene of action, and, without concert, organization, or order, maintaining a galling fire upon the confused troops from house, and wall, and hedge, in the midst of which, they began that fatal retreat, which would probably have been their *last*, had not Gage, apprehensive for the safety of the expedition, despatched Lord Percy, in the morning, with sixteen companies of foot, a corps of marines, and two pieces of artillery, to support Lieutenant-Colonel Smith. The retreating and advancing detachments entered Lexington at different points together, and the latter, with their field pieces, checked the fierce pursuit of the provincials, while the former were assembling

order, and putting themselves in a posture of defence.

But brief, indeed, was the pause of the retreating columns. Hurriedly they again resumed their backward route, and with their first step was recommenced the telling fire from flanks rear and front, wherever a hill side, a safe defile, or a parallel stone fence afforded shelter to the pursuers. And as the troops entered Charlestown Common, thinned in ranks and subdued in courage, at set of sun, the avenging and lately despised citizen soldiers were hot upon their trank, pressing them till the last man found shelter as he crossed the neck to Bunker's Hill, under the protecting guns of the ships of war.

The loss of the British, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was 273; that of the Americans, ninety. But greater advantages accrued to the latter from their victory, than the disparity of their dead. They had met in open conflict the proud army of England, and overthrown it. They had come to that conflict on a sudden summons, without arrangement, discipline, or experience, everyone obeying the impulse of his own patriotism and courage; and though some were roused from their sleep at dead of night, others hurried, half armed, from long distances, and others mingled in the fray without well knowing how it commenced, or what its object, all fought almost without thinking, certainly without thinking, until the night closed upon vanquished and victors, when they first had time to take account, or consider the consequences of the unfortunate battle in which they had been engaged, and the

unhoped for triumph they had won. Out of victory thus gained in the first encounter, arose a new hope for the whole land. The cannon of Lexington dispelled the apathy, as it lighted the indignation, of every man from the St. Lawrence to James's River; and though peace was still assumed to be the condition, and the colonies, and England's acts and language, were becoming more conciliatory, both felt that their differences were from that hour committed to the arbitrament of the sword, and each prepared at once, with the utmost diligence, for the bloody trial that appeared imminent and inevitable.

Long ere the scenes detailed in the foregoing chapter took place, the English parliament and nation were anxiously engaged in discussing the colonial question. It was the fate of that question, as of many others, to become the battle-field of party. The great distinction between whig and tory, which has since played so large a part on the theatre of politics, was then in its infancy, and the personal influence of the King was losing its accustomed weight in the struggle of intellect and ambition that agitated and divided the nation. A dissolution took place in 1774, with the avowed object of ascertaining the sense of the people on the subject of America; and the new parliament, which met early in winter, voted an address to the crown, approving of coercion, and the assertion of supremacy over the colonies, in the Commons, by a majority of 264 to seventy-three; and in the Lords, by a majority of twelve to one. Neither the ministers nor opposition seem to have apprehended the storm

that was soon to burst upon them had sunk for, before the Christmas recess, the estimates for the year formed on a strict peace establishment were hurried through the Commons, but for indulgence. The short recess brought new and startling intelligence, and the ministers met petition and remonstrance, whether from Englishmen or Americans, with the frowns of power. They refused to lay before the King the petitions of Congress, on the ground that this would be a recognition of an unauthorised and unconstitutional body. His Majesty referred it to Parliament, and Parliament, on the suggestion of ministers, refused to hear the explanation which the American agents—Franklin, Boland, and Lee, then in London—prayed to offer at the bar of the Commons. Lord North laid on the table of the house a variety of documents referring to the American contest; and, soon after, Lord Chatham, in the House of Lords, moved for an address to his majesty, praying him to take immediate measures for allaying the unhappy ferments in America.

Inspired by the solemnity of the occasion, his deep sense of the fatal policy blindly pursued by government, and his own stern conviction of the principles of liberty, his defence of the colonies was one of the grandest efforts of the genius of that illustrious man. "I will, my lords, said he, at the door of this sleeping and confounded ministry, and rouse them to a sense of their imminent danger. When I state the importance of the colonies, and the magnitude of the danger hanging over this country from the present plan

of misadministration. I desire not to be understood to argue on reciprocity of indulgence between England and America. I contend not for indulgence, but justice to America; and I will ever contend that the Americans justly owe obedience to us in a limited degree—they owe obedience to our ordinances of trade and navigation; but let the line be skilfully drawn between the objects of these ordinances and their private internal property. Let the sacredness of their property remain inviolate; let it be taxed only by their own consent, given in their own assemblies, else it will cease to be property. As to the metaphysical refinements, attempting to show that the Americans are equally free from obedience and commercial restraints as from taxation for revenue, as being unrepresented here—I pronounce them futile, frivolous, and groundless. Resistance to your acts was necessary as it was just; and your vain declaration of the omnipotence of parliament, and your imperious doctrines of the necessity of submission, will be found equally impotent to convince or enslave your fellow-subjects in America. The means of enforcing this thraldom are found to be as ridiculous and weak in practice, as they are unjust in principle. Indeed, I cannot but feel an anxious sensibility for the situation of General Gage, thinking him, as I do, a man of humanity and understanding, and entertaining, as I ever shall, the highest respect and warmest love for the British troops,—their situation is truly unworthy of them, penned up and pining in inglorious inactivity. They are an army of imprisoned. You may call them an army of safety and of

guard, but they are, in truth, an army of impotence and contempt; and, to make the folly equal to the disgrace, they are an army of irritation and vexation. The first drop of blood shed in civil and unnatural war, may be irremediable. Adopt the grace while you have the opportunity of reconcilement, or at least prepare the way. Allay the ferment prevailing in America by removing the obnoxious hostile cause—obnoxious and unserviceable; for their merit can only consist in inaction; their force would be most disproportionably exerted against a brave, generous, and united people, with arms in their hands and courage in their hearts; three millions of people, genuine descendants of a valiant and pious ancestry, driven to those deserts by the narrow maxims of a superstitious tyranny. And is the spirit of persecution never to be appeased? Are the brave sons of those brave ancestors to inherit their sufferings as they have inherited their virtues? Are they to sustain the infliction of the most oppressive and unexampled severity, beyond the accounts of history or descriptions of poetry?

Rusticanantus habet durissima regna castigatque audit fus.

So says the wisest poet, and, perhaps, the wisest statesman and politician of antiquity. But our ministers, say the Americans, must not be heard; they have been condemned unheard; the indiscriminating hand of vengeance has confounded together innocent and guilty—with all the formalities of hostility, has blocked up the town, and reduced to beggary and famine thirty thousand inhabitants."

This motion and speech were described by the adherents of government as the result of turbulence and spleen, and one noble lord hinted that they were suggested by Franklin, who then sat under the gallery, and who, as he says himself, "kept his countenance, as if his features were made of wood,"* when the observation drew on him the general gaze of the house. The motion was rejected by a majority of 61 to 32.

A similar motion, submitted to the House of Commons by Charles James Fox, met a similar fate. Both houses appeared emulous to exceed each other in the race of severity and coercion; and the King himself, in reply to a remonstrance addressed to him by the Corporation of London, condemnatory of the policy pursued towards the colonies, with marked emphasis, which courtiers translated into royal emotion, "expressed his utmost astonishment at finding any of his subjects capable of encouraging the rebellious disposition which unhappily existed in some of his colonies of North America."†

In compliance with the King's recommendation, contained in his answer to the Commons' address, they voted an augmentation of the forces, both by sea and land, to the number of 2,000 seamen and 4,388 soldiers; and on the 10th of February, Lord North introduced his bill for restraining the commerce of New England, which met with violent and acrimonious opposition. But ere this bill had proceeded many

* Memoirs, vol. 1, p. 150.

† King's answer to Wilkes (Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, continuation), vol. 15, p. 194.

stages, at the end of nine days, the noble lord, to the surprise of friends and foes, submitted to the house in committee his celebrated conciliatory resolution, which provided that wherever any of the colonies made provision for the common defence, by assessment in proportion to their circumstances, the sum raised to be at the disposal of parliament, and should also engage to make provision for the maintenance of the civil government, and that such provisions and engagement should be approved of by the King in parliament, it would be proper to impose no further tax, save such as related to the regulation of commerce.

This resolution was treated by the opposition with scorn, as wanting in courage, dignity, and justice; but, being supported by the ministerial party, although it directly contravened the bill, the principle of which they had affirmed nine days before, it passed the house. The opposition determined to propose a measure of conciliation, of a far larger and more liberal character, and committed its preparation to the gigantic abilities of the celebrated Edmund Burke, whose splendid genius and wonderful acquirements had already dazzled the house and the country. On the 22d of March he submitted his plan, which was comprised in thirteen articles. Here, too, the spirit of party was at work. The ministerialists resisted every proposition of Mr. Burke's, as the opposition resisted every proposition contained in Lord North's resolution—the members of each party feeling their personal and political principles more in issue than the fate of the colonies, and determined at all risks to maintain

that. That stormy session closed its sittings on the 20th May, without having again entertained the disputed subject of American policy, or hearing of the disasters that befel or the difficulties that beset the British arms in the western hemisphere; and of all its labours, eloquence, and anger, nothing reached America but the empty resolution of Lord North, which, by its ungracious concessions and wavering tyranny, only excited the scorn of the flushed victors of Lexington.

CHAPTER VI.

The Two Camps—American Army—Union of States' Congress—Second Sitting—Battle of Bunker's Hill.

Lord North's resolution was, however, backed by 10,000 additional men, who reached Boston about the same time, and found the colonial soldiers now better disciplined, officered, and armed, encamped round the peninsula, and occupying a line in form of a crescent, from Cambridge to Roxbury, a distance of over twenty miles. Thus stood these two armies in face of each other; the one on the height of the town, and the other on the surrounding hills, each animated by powerful but different impulses to begin that contest, which was to decide the fate of American liberty. The British, weary of inactivity, thirsted to become participators in the glory which their new generals—Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton—had won on every debated field in Europe over the most dis-

cipline and tried valour, and which they did not think could be perilled in open conflict with the untrained mobs of the colonies. Even those who shared in the former short struggle and sudden flight, could not admit that, on a full field and in battle order, they would not be an overmatch for ten times their number of the provincials. Surrounding them was the ocean, over whose vast space spread their undisturbed dominion, while their enemies had but a single shallop or mounted gun along their extended line of coast. Between them and their country, profuse in wealth, valour, and stores of war, there rose no barrier, nor could even cowards' fear suggest the apprehension that a country without a single ship would attempt to intercept their convoys on that open road, where the angry elements alone were supposed to be their rivals. The army was well stored and provided with everything necessary for aggression or defence. Their vessels of war were moored around the town, and equipped to not alone to render the narrow accesses thereto impregnable, but, if need be, to reduce the town itself to ashes in a single hour. And this fair and growing town was the capital of the province, contained most of its wealth, was the seat of its provincial assembly, and, above all, was inhabited by 30,000 Americans; so that, if even they were, as it seemed, blockaded in their city camp, they had in their power the lives of nearly twice their own number of the enemy, and hence shell could be thrown into their entrenchments without imminent risk of a conflagration, which would lay in ruins that proud rising city, so

justly an object of pride and love to the citizens of any country.

And, on the other hand, what was that army? By this time several officers assumed the command of its different divisions; but they were independent of each other, and subject to no superiors; nor did they derive their rank from any civil authority. They neither received nor expected pay for that dangerous service, and were kept together solely by virtuous patriotism. The troops, if such they may be called, acknowledged no control, and though they sat down before the city prepared to brave danger and death, they were bound by no obligation, save their own courageous purpose. The army was, in fact, a multitude of men brought together by the impulsive enthusiasm of sudden emergency; nor there was no instance of devotion in recent or modern times to suggest a hope that, without provisions, ammunition, clothing, or pay, beyond the uncertain supplies of patriotism, they could be maintained, after the first flush of victory subsided or necessity began to press upon them. They had scarcely any of the agencies which in all ages enabled nations to wage successful war. Their first impulse to resistance arose from their aversion to taxation; and no one man in all the states would be bold enough to counsel the heavier taxes necessary to meet the expenses of the country defended. Nor was there any constitutional or legalized authority competent to impose it. Perhaps that great struggle presented in all its vicissitudes, no feature so singular and admirable as the mutual faith and trust which kept those thou

ments, with their chiefs, but together, and yet during the long and doubtful period that intervened between the battle of Lexington and the appointment by Congress of a commander-in-chief, who was to reduce to order, discipline, and efficiency, the elements of resistance which his country presented, and lead these raw troops, at first to desperate struggles, sure of defeat, and finally to victory and glory.

In the provincial army, as we shall henceforth take leave to call the multitude assembled round Boston, were many men of eminent abilities and the most tried patriotism. There were generals, and colonels, and captains, but not among them all was there any one moulding mind having confidence and power to undertake the management of the entire, so as to secure the means of making a permanent stand for the liberties of the country. The salvation of America at this juncture depended on the cordiality of co-operation that prevailed in the camp. Each chief confined the sphere of his action to his own immediate duties, and none thought of supplanting or overruling his brother-officer, while every man in the army must have felt that his personal responsibility extended to the entire defence of his country. Hence, he was indifferent whereof under whom he served, and was eager to perform any duty, the only emulation between him and his fellows being, who could do best service and incur most peril. There is no trial of a man's courage so severe as uncertainty; nor was there ever on earth an instance where uncertainty prevailed to as great an extent as during the first struggle of the people of Massachusetts. Day

They knew not what resolve the other states had come to. From the great extent of this country, and the delays and difficulties of holding consultations, the people of New England might have been scattered by the invading army, long ere those of Virginia or the Carolinas had intelligence of their first resistance, or could even determine either on giving or refusing aid. Yet there none found to falter or to hesitate, and all trusted that the same just cause, in defence of which they took up arms, would find volunteers throughout every part of the continent. They calculated truly, for while the camp was recruited by every young man in the Bay colony, and even the old and feeble attended them with whatever means they could spare, and drove to the camp from hamlet and farm, carts of provisions, which were bestowed not only without a price, but with a benediction,—the committees of correspondence in every other state were actively engaged in preparing for the common defence.

Congress met at Philadelphia on the 10th of May, according to adjournment; but if (as the members of that most celebrated council were aware) their object was an open rupture with England, their deliberations were attended with a caution and a prudence altogether unpardonable. Lord North's resolution, which had been discussed and repudiated with unanimous scorn by the people of all the provinces, and by the provincial assemblies, wherever it was submitted to them, was taken into serious consideration, and although no member submitted that it contained a single proposition which could be disgraced

without damage to the cause in which they were all engaged, its rejection was decided on with a calm dignity, of which the temper of the times seemed to give little assurance. On the proposal of Mr. Dickenson, a member of great personal influence, Congress embodied its reasons for that rejection in a second petition to the King, and at the same time addresses were prepared to the people of England, Ireland, and the West Indies, and also a public declaration to the world, justifying themselves in all the steps they had taken. What befel the petition to majesty we shall hereafter see. In their declaration they said—"We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery." American historians* palliate the hesitation, that the petition to the King, after his unceremonious refusal to acknowledge their right to the privilege of prayer, in the instance of their former petition; and assert that this course was taken in deference to the wrath of its proposer, and the regard in which his integrity and patriotism was held by the assembly.

But while Congress had recourse once more to the unavailing means of remonstrance, it did not neglect measures of retaliation for restraining the commerce of the Bay, and restricting the fisheries. It resolved, that exportation to all

* Ramsay's "Revolution," vol. 1, p. 189; Marshall's "Life of Washington."

ports of British America, which had not adopted this association, should immediately cease; and that no provisions of any kind, or other necessaries, be furnished to the British fisheries on the American coast; and that no bill of exchange, draft, or order of any officer in the British army or navy, their agents or contractors, be received or negotiated, or any money supplied them by any person in America: and that no provisions be supplied to the British forces in America, or any vessel supplying them freighted.

May 26. Early in the session of congress, a resolution was unanimously adopted to sustain the people of Massachusetts, and put the colonies in a state of defence. But while congress was thus proceeding temperately and cautiously, and in a case of great emergency, when applied to for directions by the people of New York, refusing to assume the functions of a governing body, events were hurrying a crisis which was to change the relation between the colonies and the mother country. The provincial assembly of New England, then in its session, had resolved at once on sustaining the winters of Lexington, and ordered that an army of 30,000 men be raised in the four provinces of New England; these were to consist of the militia, minute men, and raw recruits; and though far below the expected number, the recruiting proceeded so rapidly that, in a very short time, the provincial was larger than the British army, and its command was given to General Ward. The appointment of a commander was, perhaps, the most dangerous experiment that could be made. Hitherto, the

enthusiasm of the men received no check from their ability to calculate the chances, hazards, or duration of a war, or to balance against them their own feeble resources and total want of military establishments. It is to be supposed, that a general, appointed to so precarious and dangerous a command, be his experience ever so limited, must see and measure, at least, the apparent difficulties of his situation, and his dim prospect of being able to resist, for any length of time, the operations of one of the bravest, best disciplined, and best prepared armies in the world. But happily, neither he, nor his council had time to enter on such disheartening speculations. More urgent business claimed their undivided attention. General Gage, as soon as the reinforcements from Europe arrived, yielding to the ardour of his camp, the advice of his new colleagues, or his own sense of the necessity for immediate operations, was actively preparing for a decisive blow. In the midst of these preparations, appeared his warning to the people, ere the last appeal was made. He placed before them the dread alternative of war or submission; and part of his terms was, a general pardon, from which, however, were excepted, Samuel Adams and John Handcock, described as "firebrands" in the proclamation, but objects of confidence and respect to the American people. The spirit of the latter took new fire at the offer of terms the most ignominious, in their minds, that could be proposed, as involving the sacrifice of their most trusted and deserving chiefs. Rightly judging that the proclamation was the herald of immediate hostility,

and regarding it as the last aggression on their civil liberties, for it contained the promulgation of martial law, they boldly prepared for the worst. The provincial congress suggested to the council of war the great importance to either army of the possession of Bunker's hill, a commanding eminence on the north side of the peninsula of Charlestown, and nearly opposite the British camp. The council immediately adopted the suggestion, and on the night of the sixteenth of June, a detachment of 1,000 men, under the command of Major Prescot, was ordered to take possession of Bunker's hill, and throw up, with the greatest expedition they could, field fortifications for the defence of the position. By some mistake, the detachment took up their station on Breed's hill, another eminence to the right, and still nearer to the enemies' lines. Here they began their field works, and so silently, and sedulously did they labour, that at dawn of day the British were alarmed to discover a small redoubt constructed on the brow of the hill, nearly under the guns of their vessels. Orders were instantly given to the batteries and vessels to commence a simultaneous fire upon the works and workmen. But this heavy cannonade seemed only to stimulate the young soldiers, activity and zeal; nor did they pause until they had constructed a line of breast work from the right of the redoubt to the bottom of the hill. Towards noon, General Gage finding all his efforts to arrest these formidable preparations unavailing, determined on dislodging the Americans; and gave orders that two squadrons, under

command of Generals Howe and Pigot, should undertake that duty. They were landed at Moretons, the north-east point of Charlestown peninsula. To their left, was the village of that name, consisting of about 500 houses; in front of them, the American works; and to their right, the valley between Breed and Bunker hills. Beyond the Americans, the peninsula gradually narrowed till it ended at Charlestown neck, at left of which, as you entered the peninsula, was stationed the Glasgow man-of-war; and at the right, two floating batteries. The Americans continued their works while the British forces formed on the shore. Slowly and steadily the latter proceeded up the hill, under cover of their guns, which poured into the American entrenchments a continuous and destructive fire, pausing occasionally to give their field pieces time to play on the newly constructed works. Meantime, orders were given by the British general to set Charlestown on fire, lest it might serve as a cover for the provincials. It was built, for the most part, of wood; suddenly one wild flame enveloped the whole town, and, curling high in air, shed its unnatural light over the scene of havoc, adding to the broil and suffocation of the sultry summer day. The inhabitants of Boston, the unengaged soldiers, the American army from their camp, witnessed this terrible spectacle; but they soon lost all interest in the reeking homes and temples, to watch the progress of the advancing columns, while amid the roar of cannon, and the glare of the blazing town, they moved up the declivity where so many of them were to find

gory graves. The Americans, calmly and unmovedly regarded the steady onset of discipline and courage. Major Putman, a veteran soldier of the colonies, charged his untrained warriors to withhold their fire until they could distinguish "the whites of their assailants' eyes," and then to fire low. Well was that order obeyed;—their first fire was so deadly, that the advancing troops reeled under the shock, wavered, and suddenly fled. They were again rallied by the courage of their officers, and again advanced to the charge; but again the same unerring stream of fire continued to pour in upon them from the redoubt and breastwork, until a second time their lines broke and they fled precipitately. General Clinton, seeing this disaster from the camp, and burning with shame at the defeat of the British arms, volunteered to lead a fresh detachment to their aid. His presence once more inspired the British officers, and, by wonderful exertions, amounting, in some cases, to goading the men, they prevailed on them again to face these terrible and immoveable lines. This third attack was even more cautious than the others, and the artillery had raked the entire of the breastwork before the troops reached it. By this time, the ammunition of its defenders was nearly exhausted; but they reserved their last fire until the enemy was at the works. This fire was true and telling as the former, but it had not the same effect, for the British soldiers charging fiercely, attacked the redoubt on three sides, and carried it by storm; the Americans who had been ordered to retire when their powder was spent, continuing

to defend it, and dealing death around them with the butt end of their arms, until the redoubt was filled with the enemy. While the ground at the redoubt and entrenchments was thus contested, and won, a detachment of the British right ordered to turn the left flank of the Americans, was received by the defenders of that pass, where they sheltered themselves by hay and the rails of a fence hastily thrown together during the early part of the conflict, by equal coolness, firmness, and precision of fire. There, too, the British troops staggered beneath the well-directed aim of the provincials, who retired only from their post of danger when they saw the works on the hill abandoned by the main body. Then they joined the retreat, and the British remained masters of the field of battle. But, though the victory was theirs, the retreat of their enemy was unmolested, and they were allowed time to form, for crossing, at their own convenience, the terrible passage of the Neck, exposed to the double fire of the batteries, and Glasgow man-of-war. The British halted on Bunker's Hill, where they hastily threw up defences; and the Americans took their position immediately opposite them on Prospect Hill, and began that line of fortifications which was never more approached by the attacking army.

The British encamped that evening about a mile in advance of their position in the morning; but dearly did they pay for the advantage. Nineteen of their bravest officers and 226 men lay dead in the disputed way, while 828 of the remainder were wounded; of the Americans,

314 were wounded, and 139 slain. Among the latter was Doctor Warren, a man whom his country deeply loved and long mourned. He commanded that day for the first time, with the rank of major-general, a rank which he only held four days, and which was conferred on him for the purity of his patriotism and his eminent abilities.

The disproportion of killed and wounded will appear still more strange on a comparison of the numbers actually engaged. Almost all accounts agree in stating these numbers thus—British, 3,000; Americans, 1,500. Perhaps, too, there was never an engagement where, for the number of men, so many officers had lost their lives, which may be accounted for, first, by the brave stand they made in rallying their scattered and disheartened troops, thus exposing themselves to every hazard; and, secondly, by the experienced marksmen among the American army singling out those whose valour and daring were alone retrieving the fortunes of their enemy.

CHAPTER VII.

Invasion of Canada—Arnold in the Wilderness—Storming of Quebec—Montgomery's Death—Evacuation of the Province.

ALL things considered, the battle of Bunker's Hill, as it has been invariably called, was one of the most bloody and destructive we find recorded in the annals of the war. But even still the voice of peace was heard amid the clang of arms. Congress did not abandon the hope, or at least the attempt, of effecting an amicable accommodation. Meanwhile, other daring enterprises were planned and executed by the Americans, and victory elsewhere crowned their arms. Colonel Arnold, of New Haven, repaired to Boston, with his company of militia, the moment he heard of the Lexington affair. He reported to the Committee of Safety the stores and value of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, two forts, on Lakes St. George and Champlain, on the Canada frontiers, then but feebly defended. He was directed to raise 400 men for their capture, and appointed commander of the expedition. At the same time, a small band of patriots of Connecticut planned a similar enterprise, and committed its execution to Colonel Allen, who was placed at the head of 270 men, summoned from the mountains around Castleton. Here Arnold joined them, accompanied only by his servant, was

associated in the enterprise, and made second in command. Arriving at Lake Champlain, opposite Ticonderoga, at night, Allen and Arnold, with eighty-three men, crossed over to the fort before dawn, surprised the sentinel, and summoned the commander, ere yet out of bed, to surrender. "In whose name?" cried the astonished soldier. "In the name," replied Allen, "of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." Crown Point was taken possession of the same day; and a sloop of war lying at St. John's, at the northern extremity of Lake Champlain, was surprised by Arnold, and brought captive to Ticonderoga. Thus the possession of these important forts, of a sloop of war, and the command of Lake Champlain, were obtained without a blow. Intelligence of the enterprise and its success reached congress in a few days, which was pleased and surprised to hear of these advantages gained on the very morning of its first assembling. But, anxious to prove that this was an act of precaution rather than aggression, a resolution was adopted, directing "an inventory of the stores to be taken, with a view of returning them as soon as harmony should be restored."

May 9.

Colonel Allen, having executed his commission, returned home, leaving Arnold in garrison at Ticonderoga. The impetuous spirit of the latter but ill brooked inactivity. He proposed the bold design of invading the Canadas, which he promised to reduce with 4,000 men. To this proposal congress refused then to accede. But the Governor of Canada, Sir Guy Carleton,

13th June.

engaging in active preparations for retaking the forts, which it was thought and since asserted, and the military spirit of the colonies rising with each successive event, the invasion of Canada was, in two months afterwards, voted to be practicable, just, and necessary. Its practicability was based upon the courage and success of the provincials; its justice on the preparations of Sir Guy Carleton, which, in the eyes of Congress at least, amounted to indications of aggressive war and invasion; and its necessity on the overruling law of self-preservation. The present writer feels no inclination to pause here, in order to canvass the justice of this invasion, or balance, by a narrow subtlety, the probabilities on one side or the other, which would cast the blame on invaders or invaded. He thinks it matters little whether Sir Guy Carleton's ambition and loyalty would be satisfied with the recovery of the places England had lost, or meditated a bolder enterprise. Blood had even then been profusely shed; and if the provincials were justified in risking life and fortune, to resist what they deemed arbitrary oppression, surely they need no vindication for now taking the hardiest precautions to place themselves on an equality with their enemies, from whose victorious anger they could have everything to dread, whether for merciful negotiation or the chances of a hazardous strife. He, therefore, leaves this question, to follow the tide of war as it rolled northward.

The responsibility of the northern expedition devolved on General Montgomery, who, with a

thousand men effected a landing at St. Johns, to which he laid siege. His want of ammunition forbad the hope of speedy success, but succeeding in an attack on a small fort, called Chambly, about six miles off, he obtained six tons of gunpowder, which enabled him to prosecute the siege with vigour. The garrison maintained themselves with great bravery and courage, but learning that the Governor, who was marching to their aid from Montreal, with 800 men, was attacked and routed by Colonel Warren, the victor of Crown Point, they surrendered on terms of honourable capitulation. Montgomery here obtained thirty-nine pieces of cannon, nine mortars, two howitzers, and 800 stand of arms. During the siege of St. John's, Colonel Allen was taken prisoner on an expedition planned by his general, and sent to England loaded with irons. Montgomery hastened from St. John's to Montreal, which was evacuated on his approach by the few troops stationed there, who, with General Prescot, the Governor of St. John's, attempted to escape down the river, but were captured by some troops and an armed gondola, at the junction of the Sorel. One hundred and twenty prisoners here surrendered themselves on terms of capitulation. Montgomery, scarcely delaying to count the immense advantages, in food, clothing, and necessaries of all kinds, placed in his hands, by the evacuation of this rich commercial town, pushed rapidly on, and with his small but victorious army said down before the capital of the province. And here,

Sept. 10.

for the first time, the full extent of his difficulties and perils arose upon his hopes, and checked them. He was a soldier by profession, accustomed to strict obedience. His troops were, for the most part, the champions of liberty, who carried into armed service the spirit which animated them to undertake their country's defence. To them the charm of that service was, that honour and courage were its only obligations; nor would they brook the idea that, undertaken on these terms, it should be prolonged by other authority than their own will. Many a time of danger, as well as this, saw the cause for which the colonists took up arms reduced to the verge of ruin by a similar spirit; nor was it until after many perilous escapes from a final overthrow, that sanguine men, in congress and out of it, admitted the stern necessity of maintaining a regular army for the defence of the country. Some, who were engaged for no term, and some, whose term had nearly expired, when unsustained by military movements, and exposed to unaccustomed severity of weather, united in claiming their dismissal from the service, and the situation of their general was rendered precarious and most difficult; but the genius of Montgomery prevailed over greater obstacles. During his brief but bright career, he endeavoured to maintain himself without once sinking the humanity and honour of the man in the sternness of the hard-set commander. And a daring ally, hastening to his relief by a route hitherto unattempted by the steps of civilized man, was now approaching the colony, from a quarter in whose depths the inhabitants thought

that not even the savages shared the solitude of the bear and the buffalo.

About the time of Montgomery's invasion, Arnold, at the head of 1,000 men, left the camp at Cambridge, with the design of penetrating Canada by the streams of the Kennebec and Chaundiere, and through the intervening wilderness. In the ascent of the former, they had often to land and haul their boats up rocks, down which roared the precipitous river. And when this weary task was done, they but exchanged the labours of the waters for greater labours on the land. They had to carve their slow way through forests, at the rate of five miles a day, to cross deep swamps and creep over rough crags, which it seemed that neither man nor beast ever before clambered. Their numbers were daily thinned by sickness and hunger, many of them consuming their dogs, shoes, leathern breeches, and cartouches. When yet 100 miles from a human habitation, they divided their last remaining stores, which amounted to four pints of meal to each man. With thirty miles of yet untrodden pathway to march over, they had eaten their last morsel. But, in this trying journey, they were sustained by the hope of completing an enterprise unrivalled, save by the most dazzling achievement of the heroes of antiquity. After a march of nearly two months, of unexampled hardships and difficulty, the Hannibal of the new world reached the first inhabited settlement on the borders of the Chaundiere, which emptied itself into the St. Laurence a few miles above Quebec. Here his

delay was shorter than required by the broken spirits and worn out energies of his feeble but unshrinking band. With the rapidity of ambition did he speed, leaving the inhabitants to conjecture whether he had issued from the wilderness or descended from the clouds. His welcome and reception were in proportion to their wonder and awe; and he circulated among them the proclamations of the commander-in-chief, offering liberty, security, and peace, should they aid the common object of the united colonies. But Arnold relied on sterner agencies than these, and his sudden appearance near Quebec caused, as much consternation in the garrison as if his band had been an army of demons, so little could they calculate upon the approach from that quarter of such a foe. Arnold found the town, as he had anticipated, completely deserted, the governor being absent endeavouring to turn the storm of war, raging upon another side of the province. The mighty river rolled between him and his certain prey, and vessels of war moored in the stream, checked his first bold and prompt design of crossing the river, and entering at once the undefended gates of Quebec. But this passage would have been attempted in the night, were it not for a storm, which raged for several days and nights, sweeping with angry, but protective surge, between the panting Arnold and the unguarded town. While he was thus delayed, the panic in the garrison abated, and Colonel McLean, with his Scotch volunteers, threw himself into it to protract its fate or share its fall. Arnold, finding at further delay, endangered his force down

9th Nov.

the river to Wolfe's Cove, and resolved to imitate the daring and share the glory of the hero of that name. At dead of night, his intrepid bands crossed the flood, and ascended the precipitous banks at the other side. Here a council of war was held, in which Arnold proposed to storm the town; but this counsel was overruled as desperate; and, after a short delay before the walls, he was obliged to retire to a position of greater safety, twenty miles up the river, there to await a junction with Montgomery.

Meantime, the Governor of Canada arrived in Quebec, and took the promptest and most decisive measures for its defence; so that, by the time the junction of the two American generals was effected, it was fully prepared to resist their joint assault. Ere Arnold reluctantly abandoned the storming of Quebec, or retired from its walls, he was forced to admit to himself that all his toil, his waste of time and treasure, and the stupendous undertaking he had accomplished, had been in vain. He sighed to think, that the storm which awaited from the incumbent city his long collected blow, or being a day or two behind the propitious time, should interpose between him and his crowning fame, and give to Quebec and Canada a different destiny. But thus does fortune play with the prospects of the wisest and the boldest. The spirit of Arnold was not, however, to be duped by this mischance. He was huge-minded. Montgomery's prompt resolution of investing Quebec, a resolution to come accredited. But Quebec was defended by superior resources, and a valour equal to their own. Sir Guy Car-

leton was a man of great daring and the sagest prudence. By his presence and virtue he infused his own indomitable spirit into the bosoms of all the inhabitants; and every day the siege was continued gave fresh proofs of the strength and security of his position. The besiegers, fearing delay, and sorely urged by the season, the climate, and the uncertainty of the service, subordinate to their authority, resolved to risk the storming of the garrison at every hazard. That attempt was made at five o'clock in the morning, on the last day of the year, their forces being divided into four parties, the two principal of which were led in person by Montgomery and Arnold. A heavy snow-storm enveloped besiegers and besieged, amid the fury of which the devoted bands and their gallant leaders groped their way to the destined points of attack. These were for the two main divisions—the two opposite sides of the lower town — Montgomery choosing that around Cape Diamond, by the banks of the river, which was guarded by an outpost. The pathway leading to this post was narrow and difficult, being under the steep precipice, and covered by large masses of ice, washed in upon it by the over-gorged river. Along this the storming party advanced with extreme difficulty in single file, and the general himself, leading the way, had more than once to halt for those who followed. Reaching the outpost, its guards, after a few random shots, fled to the battery; but being in advance of his men, the general again halted to give time to his followers to collect, and as soon as about 200 were collected,

he rushed forward, animating them by his voice and example, when one of the sentinels who had fled, astonished at the delay, returned to his post, and slowly applying a match to a gun mounted there, fired it without any immediate design. This single and chance shot decided the fate of the assault. Its first victim was General Montgomery. He fell dead where he stood; and two young and gallant officers, who shared his peril and daring, shared also his untimely fate. Colonel Campbell, on whom devolved the command, hesitated to advance; and the troops, whom no danger could deter when following their beloved general, seeing him lying dead, retraced their steps with confusion and consternation. Arnold, to whom this disaster was unknown, approached the opposite battery, along the suburb of St. Roques, about the same time. He, too, found all in readiness to meet him, and, in assaulting the first battery, received a wound, which obliged him to retire to hospital. The battery was, however taken, and Captain Morgan, of the Virginia riflemen, who were leading the assault, was called on by an unanimous shout to assume the command and rush forward. That dauntless officer accepted, with eagerness, the post of danger and of honour; and at the same moment Lieut. Anderson, issuing from the gate with the view of attacking the Americans, who were supposed to be plundering the exposed part of the town, challenged Captain Morgan, and received a ball through his head from Morgan's hand in reply. His troops fell back, and closed the gate. The besiegers instantly scaling the wall, saw inside a

large force, with their guns fixed to the earth, ready to receive any who descended on their bayonets, and, at the same time, a most destructive fire was poured upon them from windows and port-holes, beneath which they retired into the stone houses outside the barrier, where the dawning day discovered them endeavouring to answer, but ineffectually, the terrible fire from the barrier and surrounding posts. To appear even an instant outside their precarious shelter was certain death; and so depressed were the men by defeat, disaster, and cold, that they refused to attempt a retreat in the face of the murderous barrier. Meantime, troops issuing from another gate, made their rear guard prisoners, and completely surrounded them. But, even in this situation, the resolution which still upheld the American leaders prompted the desperate attempt of cutting their way, sword in hand, through the town backwards. While preparing, however, for this last enterprise, they were entirely encompassed, and surrendered prisoners of war. Many officers of this detachment were killed, and all the rest, including the intrepid Morgan, except the few who accompanied Arnold, were taken prisoners. Thus ended this assault upon Quebec, which many have described as rash and desperate, but which all admit to be one of the most gallant upon record. Its failure supplies the readiest proof that it was ill-advised and unmilitary; but if, as it is on the other hand asserted, the shot which deprived the army of its leader was a random one, discharged by a remaining sound, not a forsaken post, success might

have changed the reasoning, and generated a host of critics, stout to assert that the enterprise was as wisely and surely planned as it was daring and chivalrous.

Upon Arnold's camp, the new year opened with gloomy prospects; yet, himself badly wounded, the army dispirited by defeat and suffering, his bravest chiefs dead or captured, and the winter closing around him with its frozen terrors —he did not hesitate to prosecute, boldly, the blockade. And the distress to which he reduced the garrison, which once or twice barely escaped falling into his hands, ere he was superseded in command, proves that his energy was indomitable, and his operations those of a consummate military genius.

But in all that surrounded it of gloom and horror, in this season of snow and storms, nothing pressed so heavily on the American army as the fate of their too gallant general. No thought had they for calculating harshness in judging the enterprise which cost his life. And, indeed, if want of foresight, to any extent, dimmed the lustre of that stupendous undertaking, it was amply redeemed by his personal contempt for danger, and his chivalrous fall. Nor does it well become the nation on whose arms victory smiled, to insult his memory on this ground, for, had he lived, to divide their strength, on share in the encounter, history may be compelled to restrict the praises which British valour justly claims from the triumph of that eventful day. Nor was the voice of unkind criticism unheeded by the generous sar. No man fell in, or, perhaps, sur-

viewed the war, save one, to whose virtue and courage so large and liberal a tribute of homage was offered—of hearty admiration by his enemies, of deepest mourning by his adopted country. His monument, the first voted by congress, attests the estimation in which that country held his eminent services, his purity, and his genius. But, perhaps, the most solid testimony to his worth and valour was, the cheer which echoed through the British senate when the baffled minister "cursed his virtues for having undone his country."

We have dwelt on this closing scene of Montgomery's bright career longer than our prescribed limits, in justice, admit of, lingering fondly over details of personal heroism, while the incidents of a now widely raging war claim our attention to trials more momentous, and results more decisive on the immediate theatre of the conflict. We have done so, because the storming of Quebec, although unsuccessful, appears an exploit of unparalleled daring and magnitude, and because the genius that planned it, and fell in its execution, was the greatest sacrifice that was offered to liberty. And, good reader, we have had another, perhaps a more powerful reason,—Richard Montgomery was an Irishman.

Let us not pass to other subjects without doing justice to the humanity and clemency of Sir Guy Carleton, and the garrison of Quebec. The prisoners who fell into their hands, and the wounded who were left to their mercy, were treated with the kindest solicitude, and most delicate respect. Whether in the hour of danger or of triumph, the garrison never lost sight

of the honourable duties which brave men ever discharge towards those whom the chances of war deliver into their power.

The fate of the northern army claimed the early and anxious care of the commander-in-chief and of congress. The largest supplies that could be afforded were generously voted to its aid; and generals, of tried skill, appointed to its command. Nor was the hope abandoned, even yet, of arousing in the breasts of the Canadians the love of liberty, and a community of purpose with the other states. Franklin, then the literary star of the Continent, arrived, on this mission, with two able coadjutors, having means and authority to establish a free press. But the task of thoroughly conciliating a province with different habits, tastes, and religion, and a priesthood averse to the union, was then hopeless; or the spirit that could accomplish it was hushed for ever. Fortune's current was turned backwards. The army, though greatly reinforced, was unable to maintain itself against the still more numerous army now hotly pressing it, and commanded by the accomplished soldier who saved Quebec. Advantages, of a trifling character, were occasionally gained by the continental troops; but a series of reverses, thickening upon their scattered forces, and increasing their difficulties at every step, with a victorious army hovering in their rear, compelled them early in the summer to evacuate the province, and abandon an expedition from which so much was hoped, and which, at one time, was justly regarded as nearly crowned with success.

CHAPTER VIII.

Appointment of a Commander-in-Chief—George Washington—his difficulties—Evacuation of Boston.

WHILE the surge of battle curled along the slopes of Breed's Hill, Congress, sitting at Philadelphia, was busy in completing the document which committed the fate of the army to him, whose uprightness of heart, solid judgment, and military fame, wooed unto him the undivided choice and trust of his country,—the man to whom, in the hour of most peril, she could unhesitatingly commit her deliverance and her destiny. That choice fell on George Washington, of whom we have had already a brief glimpse in a perilous position near the Ohio. The profession which he then adorned was since exchanged for the peaceful pursuit of agriculture on one of the loveliest and richest plantations in Virginia. The call of his country interrupted the sparkling current of perfect domestic enjoyment. But lately married, deeply loving and beloved, the calm retreat in which life was a circle of joy, had shut out from his heart the rude noises of a soldier's ambition and pursuits. But in that heart the behests of patriotism were carefully stored, and when answering his country's summons, he but obeyed the promptings of its love, which, of all things else, was most deeply engraven on his noble nature. Well is it

for the country which finds, in the time of her distress, that there are men who, keeping aloof from wordy strife, store up the wisdom, and mature the great qualities, which, in the last extremity, can alone, command her salvation. Providence had secured this blessing to the people of America; and Washington went on his mission to justify its bountiful care. Nor was he the only man whose high qualifications recommended him to the confidence of the Americans. Besides the men who had undertaken command, and proved their military attainments in the fields over which we have already led our readers, congress appointed to the war-staff, of which Washington was the centre, other distinguished officers who had served, with credit, in the King's army. Ward, Lee, Putman, and Schuyler, held the commission of major-generals, direct from congress; and Gates, that of adjutant-general. Washington hastened to head-quarters at Cambridge, near Boston, with the view of entering on the hard task of introducing into the army discipline, order, steadiness, and permanent obedience, before he attempted to lead them against an enemy incalculably superior to them in all these attributes of soldiership which, by the stern discipline of war, are deemed essential to success. Far from hoping that the transient ardour which flushed the incongruous assemblage that rushed eagerly to deeds of sudden daring, with an impetuosity and strength which perhaps no discipline could ever reach, would suffice to maintain them against the privations and hardships, and mischances of prolonged war, he

put forth all his efforts, and all his influence, to organise, at once, a regular and permanent army, with such stores and establishments as the exigency of the time would admit of. Unforseen difficulties, too, were added to those which he apprehended, and although he was received by the whole army with general acclaim, it required his utmost address and energy to reconcile many officers, and their immediate troops, to the appointments made by congress. The officers of Massachusetts were chosen by the men, others by provincial assemblies, others by public meetings; and many feelings were wounded, and jealousies awakened, by the new order of things, which necessarily interfered with these arrangements. By slow degrees and cautious but incessant labour, the commander-in-chief moulded these discordant elements into order, discipline, and obedience, harmonising as best he could the sturdiest predilections of the most self-confident, with the necessity of obedience to, and dependence on, a single will. But as this concentration of authority and discipline was in progress, and as the state of the different independent forces in the camp became known to the general, the prospect it presented was still more discouraging. The first care of Congress was to emit large sums of paper money, for the value of their proportion of which the states became respectively responsible; but there was no department for the administration of these funds—no commissary-general, and no paymaster—which imposed on the commander-in-chief the discharge of the respective duties of various

establishments, and obliged him to transact their business with several committees, in different parts of the country. But the most appalling want of all, and that which could be least expected and worst supplied, was the want of powder. The scarcity of this most necessary article was such, not only in the camp but the country, that entreaties rather than orders were everywhere circulated, imploring the people, much of whose luxuries, if not actual support, depended on their fowling-pieces, to abstain in future from using powder, and furnish all that could be procured to the camp. By these means a scanty supply was got together. While thus engaged, the position and strength of the enemy did not escape the sleepless examination of Washington. Narrowly and minutely did he calculate the hazards of an attack on their lines, against the important results that a victory would then realise for his country, and he was with difficulty dissuaded from risking an engagement where the consequences of success would be of such incalculable advantage. But he acquiesced in the unanimous decision of his general officers, and the two armies continued in face of each other, each confident in the security of its position, but afraid of risking a single offensive operation.

From our description of the position of both armies previous to the battle of Breed's Hill, our readers are familiar with the situation of Boston, in relation to the peninsula of Charlestown. The town of Boston, divided from that peninsula by a narrow channel, is otherwise en-

tirely surrounded with deep water, except at the narrow neck of Roxburg, which runs between it and the mainland, at the left as you enter the harbour. The British army was, as we have seen, entrenched on Bunker's Hill, encamped in the town, and strongly posted on the neck just mentioned, called Roxburg Neck. The American army, divided into three grand divisions, formed a semicircle along the coast that surrounded both peninsulas, and extending a distance of at least twelve miles. At Charlestown Neck, on either side, were the Glasgow man-of-war and the floating battery, already described. Lower down the river Charles, and near the ferry, dividing the two peninsulas, was another sloop-of-war; to the right of the British on Cop's Hill, was another battery, and several vessels of war anchored in the bay. Between all points of the British lines were quick and uninterrupted means of communication by water; while the Americans from the great length of their line, would find it impossible to concentrate on any point a sufficient force to resist a sudden and vigorous attack. But, on the other hand, if the British, who were greatly inferior in numbers, left their lines and failed, their total destruction would be inevitable; and the experience of one defeat and a dear victory, taught them not to despise any longer either the courage or military resources of the continentals.

The summer, autumn, and winter, passed, and both armies kept to their entrenchments, or at most contented themselves with fortifying new

positions, or strengthening those already occupied. In this slow warfare, the Americans had all the advantage, having the entire command of the land, while the British were confined to the narrow limits of the town. Every yard's advance made by the former contracted, still more, the circle that circumscribed the operations of the latter, who were, moreover, greatly distressed for want of a supply of fresh meat, and other such necessaries, while the small-pox made dreadful ravages among the troops.

But in the progress of these months of inactivity, Washington was doomed to the mortification of seeing the army he had taken such pains to organise and model, disbanded by the expiration of the term for which the men had enlisted. Most of the arms belonged to themselves, and it was with great difficulty that they could be prevailed upon to part with the old companions of their campaign, now indispensable for those who were to be their successors. A letter, or rather remonstrance, addressed on the 19th of January, to congress, by the commander-in-chief, will explain more clearly, and even succinctly, than any language we could command the state of the army, the difficulties and perils of his position, and the singular patriotism which prompted and enabled him to surmount obstacles as formidable as ever beset a military commander:

"No man upon earth wishes more ardently than I do to destroy the nest in Boston. No person could be willing to go greater lengths than I shall to accomplish it if it shall be thought advisable; but if we have no powder

to embark with, nor ice to pass on; we shall be in no better situation than we have been in all the year. We shall be in a worse, as their works are stronger.

"The disadvantages attending the limited enlistment of troops, are too apparent to those who are eye-witnesses to them, to render any animadversions necessary; but to gentlemen at a distance, whose attention is engrossed by a thousand important objects, the case may be otherwise.

"That this cause precipitated the fate of the brave and ever-to-be-lamented, General Montgomery, and brought on the defeat which followed thereupon, I have not the most distant doubt; for, had he not been apprehensive of the troops leaving him at so important a crisis, but continued the blockade of Quebec, a capitulation, from the best accounts I have been able to collect, must inevitably have followed. And that we were not obliged, at one time, to dispute these lines, under disadvantageous circumstances, (proceeding from the same cause, to wit: —the troops disbanding of themselves before the militia could be got in), is, to me, a matter of wonder and astonishment, and proves that General Howe was either unacquainted with our situation, or restrained, by his instructions, from putting anything to hazard till his reinforcements should arrive.

"The instance of General Montgomery (I mention it because it is a striking one—a number of others might be adduced), proves, that instead of having meant to take advantage of circumstances, you are, in a manner, compelled, right or wrong, to make circumstances yield to a secondary consideration. Since the first of December, I have been devising every means in my power to secure these encampments; and though I am sensible that we never have been, since that period, able to act on the offensive, and, at times, not in a condition to defend, yet, the cost of marching home one set of men, and bringing in another, the havoc and waste occasioned by the first, the repairs necessary for the second, with a thousand incidental charges and inconveniences which have arisen, and which it is scarcely possible either to

recollect or to describe, amount to nearly as much as the keeping up of a respectable body of troops, the whole time ready for any emergency, would have done.

"To this may be added, that you never can have a well disciplined army.

"To make men well acquainted with the duties of a soldier requires time. To bring them under proper discipline and subordination, not only requires time, but is a work of great difficulty, and in this army, where there is so little distinction between officers and soldiers, requires an uncommon degree of attention. To expect, then, the same service from raw and undisciplined recruits as from veteran soldiers, is to expect what never did, and, perhaps, never will happen. . . . . .

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"Three things prompt men to a regular discharge of their duty in time of action—natural bravery, hope of reward, and fear of punishment. The two first are common to the untutored and the disciplined soldiers, but the last, most obviously distinguishes the one from the other. A coward taught to believe that, if he break his rank and abandon his colours, he will be punished with death by his own party, will take his chance against the enemy; but the man who thinks little of the one, and is fearful of the other, acts from present feelings, and is regardless of consequences. . . . . .

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"We are laid under fresh trouble, and additional expense, in providing for every fresh party, at a time when we find it next to impossible to procure the articles absolutely necessary in the first instance.

"But this is not all. Men engaged for a short time have the officers too much in their power. To obtain a degree of popularity, in order to induce a second enlistment, a kind of familiarity takes place which brings on a relaxation of discipline, unlicensed furloghs, and other indulgences, incompatible with order and good government, by which means, the latter part of the time in which the soldier was engaged, is spent in undoing what it required much labour to inculcate in the first."

And he concludes thus:—

"I am satisfied it will never do to let the matter alone, as it was last year, till the time is near expiring.

In the first place, the hazard is too great; in the next, the trouble and perplexity of disbanding one army and raising another, at the same instant, and in such a critical situation as the last was, is scarcely in the power of words to describe, and such as no man who has once experienced it, will ever undertake again."

This letter was not written until the crisis it deprecated had passed. The commander-in-chief preferred incurring the entire blame of the inactivity of the army, rather than risk an exposure of its condition. But, although his resources now justified the fullest confidence in the security of his own lines, he was by no means in a condition to commence active offensive operations. Far advanced in February, when all hopes in the chances of a frost, to afford a passage to the troops, were quickly passing away, 2,000 of the newly-enlisted troops were totally unarmed. But Washington, burning to justify the confidence of his country, and deeply anxious by one blow to annihilate the whole invading army, proposed to a council of war to assault the British entrenchments, alleging that, even though the army, then amounting to nearly 17,000 men, were yet imperfectly disciplined, miserably armed, and wanting all necessaries for a bombardment, it would be safer and more prudent now to meet all the hazards of the trial than take the chances of a delay, which could not fail to bring powerful reinforcements to the British. The proposal was negatived; but it was unanimously agreed to take possession of Dorchester heights, to the extreme right of the Americans. These heights commanded the bay, Roxburgh Neck, and the point of embarkation, should such a step be decided on by General Howe,

then, and since October, Commander-in-Chief of the British forces. The Massachusetts' militia, storing themselves with three days' provisions, joined the camp in great numbers, eager to share in the decisive struggle that seemed approaching. On the night of the 4th of March, during a brisk cannonade from a distant point of the American lines, a detachment of 1,200 men, who worked all night covered by about 700 under arms, occupied and fortified this important position. The British, whose attention was directed during the time to the cannonade, were startled to find, at dawn of day, a powerful host strongly intrenched in a position incompatible with the longer safety of the fleet in the Bay, or the army in their intrenchments. Pressed by the alternative of a sudden and perilous evacuation, or an attempt to dislodge the detachment on the heights, bravery, and perhaps necessity, determined them to adopt the latter.

The 5th of March was ominous for the soldiers of the King. It had memories of blood, and blended with the zeal for liberty the thirst and strength of vengeance. Both parties prepared for the final struggle, conscious that at that early stage the engagement would go far to determine the fortune of war. As on the day of Bunker's Hill, every eminence in and round Boston was covered with anxious spectators, watching for the terrible fray, in whose event so many public and individual feelings were involved. In the American bosom were gathered resentment, coupled with a patriotic ardour to expel from the soil the arms and presence of its enslavers, and the powerful

though new, impulses of a rising ambition. In that of the long cooped up army swelled the yet unabated confidence in the superiority of British arms, and a desire, at every hazard, of escaping from the ignominy of inaction, under the insulting menaces of a blockading army, as well as a stinging memory of the former fields in which they had encountered them. With these feelings inflaming all the martial passions of two hostile forces, nearly on an equality—for the one was superior in numbers as the other was in discipline and military resources—the encounter would have been a terrible and bloody one. But it was their fate not to meet. The British detachment ordered to dislodge the Americans, not intending to commence the assault before the morning of the 6th, were put on board, and fell down the river to be in readiness to embark with the daylight. A storm arose during night, and completely scattered this force, so as to render it impossible to make the intended attack. Washington prepared, at the other side, to lead 4,000 men into the heart of the British lines as soon as they were engaged in the enterprise they had planned, saw, with mortification, that once more he was disappointed in his anxiety to bring on a general action. The British, finding their situation rendered more precarious by this mischance, determined in a council of war, hurriedly called, to evacuate the town. After some negotiation, the terms of which were, on the part of the British, an unmolested embarkation, or the burning of the town, if they were attacked, the American general consented to allow, unopposed, the

proposed embarkation. On Patrick's day the fleet weighed anchor, bearing away from the scene of their expected triumph the baffled valour of Britain. Washington entered Boston as the vessels were yet sluggishly and, as if reluctantly, struggling through the silent bay, not without regret, even though he acquired so signal and cheap an advantage, that he was not able to prevent this army of invasion from transferring its operations to another part of his devoted country. The citizens of Boston received their countrymen with exulting shouts, which all America fervently echoed. Congress heard the intelligence with unrestrained joy, and tendered its warmest gratitude to its chosen general, who was saluted as the saviour of his country.

Far other feelings darkened the hopes and irritated the temper of the British, as the fleet that bore them steered northward, seeming to escape from the fury of the Americans, but to encounter the still more formidable fury of the angry winds and waters, in this dangerous season of the year. They complained bitterly that they were neglected by their country, and denied the reinforcements which they expected so long in vain. But the British ministry, revolving large and bold schemes of conquest, thirsted to engage the army on a wider and fairer field of operations, hoping, by a comprehensive and well-sustained movement, to bring the colonies to a speedy submission. The name of Halifax, which was understood to be their destination, was uttered with loathing by the royal troops, as it presented only a safe asylum,

where they might ruminate at leisure on their long and, as they considered, disgraceful, inactivity and unsuccessful operations. Nor was the prospect of Halifax the more agreeable because they saw between them and that port all the dangers of a stormy voyage. They reached it, however, in safety; and its friendly harbour received into its shelter that gallant, but now jaded army, whose humblest private would have scoffed, twelve months before, their ability to rout, in a single campaign, the entire despised army of the colonies. While awaiting the instructions and reinforcements, for which they looked eagerly out into the Atlantic, let us retrace our steps to glance briefly at the transactions of which other colonies were the scene, during the months we have just passed over.

CHAPTER IX.

General Organization—Virginia—Contests with Lord Dunmore—Emancipation—Evacuation of the Southern States—Sack and Burning of Falmouth—American Navy.

ALL the colonies, after intelligence of the battle of Lexington and the resolutions of Massachusets had reached them, began to organise means of resistance and defence. But these operations proceeded differently in different states, according to the strength of the royal party there, and the discretion and position of the governors and

council, still entrusted with the administration of public affairs.

In Virginia there was not a single British soldier. The spirit of the people, too, was bold and enthusiastic. They shared largely in the resolution and ardour of their brethren of Massachusetts. The zeal or intemperance of Lord Dunmore, the governor, prompted him to resist these indications of what he felt or feigned to be defection, and thereby anticipated the approach of war. It is no part of our task to extenuate Lord Dunmore from the guilt or rashness of provoking hostilities with which he was so little qualified and prepared to cope, any more than it is our wish to lay the entire blame at his door. Like as in other cases, he might save himself the mortification of the discomfiture that attended all his operations, by prudence and caution; but it did not seem fit to him to take a cautious course.

April 2. His first act was to seize on the powder in the stores at Williamsburg, and order it to be conveyed on board a man-of-war in James' River. This led to much public indignation, and heated, but vain, remonstrance. The citizens suddenly took up arms, and hostilities were prevented with great difficulty by the civic authorities. Lord Dunmore met those frowning preparations with obstinate courage, and while the people threatened the worst, he proclaimed his purpose to liberate and arm the Negroes. Fortifying his palace, and sending his family on board one of the vessels, he proclaimed a few of the leaders of the people as rebels, which had the

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tion so gratifying to its instincts. And, in this instance, it would be so foul a crime to exercise a national virtue, that in which England takes most pride, in order to take advantage of the long pent animosity of the poor heavy burdened slaves, that we scarcely can bring ourselves to believe Lord Dunmore was influenced, in his gracious offer of pardon and freedom, by any consideration, save a large and benevolent solicitude for the complete disenthralment of every member of the human race.

The people of Virginia judged differently. They regarded this act as one of wanton plunder, committed with a purpose of blood, not justified by the hardest necessity of war. And they concluded, perhaps too harshly, that a government whose servant would thus wanton with the most sacred obligations of society, must be based upon maxims of unmixed and unscrupulous tyranny.

Lord Dunmore, following up his plan, received all the negro fugitives, and conceiving himself strong enough for offensive operations, landed his heterogeneous army at Norfolk, and prepared for its defence. The provincials sat down in front of him; the impatience of Lord Dunmore precipitated an action, in which the provincials were victorious, the brave captain (Fordyce)
Dec. 9. who led the attack having fallen, and his lieutenant being taken prisoner. Norfolk was next day evacuated, taken possession of by the Americans, but, on the arrival of the *Liverpool*, man-of-war, from England, the town was reduced to ashes by the British. The
Jan. 1776. Americans saw their town in ruins, with-

out dismay, and added to the sacrifice by setting fire to every house and plantation on or near the shore, from which the fleet could be supplied. Scarcity on board the fleet followed, and brought with it pestilence and death, to which the emancipated slaves were the first victims. Few of them, if any, survived this expedition, which ended by his lordship burning the least useful of his vessels, and sending the remainder, for safety, to Bermuda. But the genius of Lord Dunmore discomfited on one element, had planned a vast enterprise on the other. An officer of the name of Connolly, was commissioned to organise an army in the back settlements, composed as that of his lordship on shore, with which, sustained by all the artillery and soldiers in garrison, in these remote districts, he was ordered to penetrate into Virginia, and form a junction with Lord Dunmore on the Potowmac. Connolly was seized in Maryland, and his commission and instructions published, amidst the prayers of the population, who attributed to the care of heaven their rescue from a dreadful calamity.

North Carolina imitated the preparations of Virginia, but its governor was more wise or cautious. He took no more hostile attitude than that of arming his adherents and fortifying his palace. But even this step excited such a ferment, that he too took shelter on board a ship of war in Cape Fear River, while committees of safety and correspondence were the only governing power on shore. Sedulous to try every means of reducing the province, Governor Martin applied to the Highland emigrants, the remnants of another royal army, that once oppo

the then British dynasty as rebels and usurpers. General M'Donnel undertook to lead his Scotch volunteers, and raised the standard of the Brunswick King as he had lately raised that of the last of the Stuarts.

Feb. 27. This force met the provincials at Moore's Creek, commanded by Colonels Lillington and Caswell, where, after a short conflict, in which M'Donnel was taken prisoner, and his second in command slain, it was completely dispersed.

The revolution ripened in South Carolina and Georgia, which latter did not join the Union until late in the second session of Congress, without the shedding of blood or any military operations at either side. Their preparations were on the same scale as those of the other provinces; and their Governors, abdicating authority which they deemed at the same time useless and dangerous, committed the destiny of these states, as well as of the others, to delegates, who undertook the duties of committees of safety and correspondence. So that, at the close of this campaign of 1775—6, all America had committed its destiny to the fortune of war, or, to speak more accurately, to the valour of its own citizens.

There remains to be noticed but one fact, which formed no unimportant feature in the transactions just recounted—the birth of the American Navy. One of the impulses of British domination—one of these securities which the Mistress of the Ocean deemed unfailing in any possible event, was her undisturbed and undisputed empire of the seas. Upon that element England dreaded no rival, and from the colonies

apprehended not the least opposition. But in the midst of his cares and difficulties, George Washington was organising the means of disputing her haughty preeminence, and offering the most tempting encouragement to any who would interrupt the fancied security of the vessels of war, that at the mouth of every river and in the shelter of every bay, either insulted and threatened the inhabitants, or protected the plunder of their property. An instance here occurs to us, where the lust of war or plunder carried the crew of an armed English vessel beyond the undefinable line of public robbery. Captain Mowat, of the Monceaux, set fire to the town of Falmouth, because the inhabitants refused to comply with his orders or his caprices, consuming 139 houses, and 278 merchants' stores. But this and other such acts only stimulated the Americans the more to abridge, by every possible means, and at any risk, such naval gambols; and success, as if by miracle, crowned their first undertaking, for ere the navy ordered to be built by Congress was yet on the stocks, Captain Manly, commanding a privateer, took the brig Nancy, an ordnance ship from Woolwich, having on board a brass mortar, several brass cannon, and an immense store of ammunition and military necessaries of all kinds. Nine days after, four more store vessels were captured by the same enterprising sailor, and the sea swarmed with privateers of every size, so that when the British fleet sailed for Halifax, no British vessel could escape their vigilance or baffle their pursuit.

Oct. 18.

Nov. 29.

CHAPTER X.

The British Parliament—Congress—The English People—Irish House of Commons—Admiral Parker in Charlestown Bay—Battle of Charlestown—Declaration of Independence—Battle of Long Island—Evacuation of New York.

While America, from the banks of the St. Lawrence to the Potowmac, was prey to one wide and wasting flame of war, the parliament, the ministry, and the monarch of England were deeply engaged in wordy strife, equally inveterate, though far less deadly, as to the course which expediency, policy, or justice would dictate in reference to the revolted colonies. The prophecy or wish of Chatham, already realised, became canons with the opposition, and the court phalanx entrenched themselves within the same facts, as justifying their former course and present purpose, and confirming the apprehension, that the opposition carried their factious intrigues to the verge of disaffection. Such is the logic of party, deducing consequences diametrically opposite from the same fact. Here, so intense was its influences, that sober reason seemed banished from the great council of the nation. But the war of faction presented one grand feature, when the eloquence of its chiefs, unsurpassed in history—while disputing the principles which, beyond the Atlantic, were submitted to the arbitrament of the sword—lit up with its inspiration the cause and struggle of liberty;

nor was the strife of warring genius the less interesting of the two. But how pregnant a commentary on the value of senatorial debate, as far as concerns the question in controversy, does that struggle supply! The principles in discussion were the simplest and most intelligible in the theory of the constitution; and their elucidation engaged the dazzling abilities of Burke, Chatham, and Fox, at the one side, and of Mansfield, Thurlow, and North on the other, without a single retainer being detached from ministers, or a single disciple from the Whigs. And no one presumed to suggest a middle course, lest he may incur the contempt of both parties, as inevitably he would.

But we would not be understood as estimating alike the arguments, principles, and motives of the ministry and the opposition. The latter invoked the genius of the Constitution, and claimed its protection for all men who owned its sway. Neither aggressions upon privileges, nor resistance to laws contrary to its spirit, they argued, could change its fundamental principles, which were indestructible and eternal. They described the first assumption of a right over America as inconsistent with her guaranteed liberties, and a violation of justice, and contended that conciliation, to be available or acceptable, should retrace and undo the whole course of legislation, back to that its perverted source. The ministry, on the other hand, justified the taxation and coercion of America, by expediency, necessity, and the sacred rights of insulted prerogative. The omnipotence of Parliament, the least understood of

all phrases, was, in their rhetoric, a high-sounding and conclusive answer to every claim of national and individual liberty, measuring, at the same time, the opposition of the colonies by the mere amount of the load they may please to impose, while the colonists proclaimed that a pin's weight would be resisted by them to the death, not because of its weight but of its injustice.

These arguments are easily distinguishable. The right and wrong are now apparent and will be through all time. But, then, the spirit of party, like the deity of discord, lighting its torches at the altar of sacrifice, conjured up phantoms from personal interests, associations, and predilections which stood between parliament and the light. Ministers would not concede, because the concession would be a victory to their antagonists, and those antagonists would not compromise the weakest element of their theory to save the blood of both nations.

The contrast presented by America at this period was significant and gratifying. Prudence and firmness were the basis of all her resolutions, and the rules of her discussion. Her untrained statesmen, like her untrained wariors, had no ambition but to serve. Each of them feeling that his duty was to study and learn, in order to guide his course by his own knowledge, came to the discussion of every question with all the information his industry and ability could compass, and decided, not according to the behests of party, or the direction of some overshadowing genius to whom he had committed

the task of thinking for him, but according to the dispassionate dictates of his judgment. Thus it is in general with men who are in difficulties, ere the spoils of office or the pride of power lure them from the path of principle and rectitude.

The English public discussed the colonial question with passions still more inflamed than those even of the parliament. The adherents of ministers were branded by the champions of America as interested tools; and the former loudly attributed to the latter the vulgar ambition of seeking to climb into consequence through the medium of grievances they did not feel, and in assertion of rights for which they were not concerned. The press, the pulpit, and the halls of justice rang with invective and recrimination. The zeal of many impelled them beyond discretion's limits. Committees were formed and sums of money voted to the widows and orphans of the "murdered patriots" of Lexington and Concord; and the Rev. William Horne, the successor of Wilkes in popular favour, was brought to trial, for subscribing one of these votes of supplies, convicted and fined in a sum twice the amount. Nor were the members of the "Society for Constitutional Information," as the abettors of America had styled themselves, without their triumph in a court of law. Mr. Sayre, an American merchant, accused of forming the extravagant design of seizing on the person of the King, and by the aid of a bribed guardsman, conveying him out of the kingdom, was arrested and cast

prison on a charge of high treason. The prosecution exploded, and Mr. Sayre brought an action against Lord Rochford for this outrage on his liberty, and got £1000 damages.

Military preparations on a large scale were meanwhile proceeded with. Lord North had a bill hurried through both houses, to assemble the militia in case of rebellion. 50,000 men were voted for the land service, and 28,000 for the Navy, and parliament was informed by his Majesty that he had entered into treaties with foreign princes, whereby they engaged to furnish mercenaries from their armies for the garrisons of Gibraltar, Minorca and the other Mediterranean stations. This step met with indignant reprobation from the opposition, whose anger provoked the minister but to levity and scorn. He introduced, however, a bill of indemnity, but denied its necessity and despised the assumed protection he did not need, upon which the lords rejected the bill. This was the only check the minister received, and, sustained by triumphant majorities in both houses, he passed a bill restraining the commerce of the united colonies, and authorising their ports and vessels to be treated as those of rebels.

While the English parliament was thus dragged behind the ministerial car, that of Ireland, upon the corruption of which so much lavish treasure had been wasted, presented an animated and stubborn resistance to the demand of the minister. The Irish commons assented reluctantly to the proposal for 4000 men, but indignantly refused to commit the safety of the

kingdom to foreign auxiliaries. The complicated nature of the demand led to the discussion of the highest principle. The minister required only 4000 men for active service, but his proposal was, that double that number should receive their pay from, and be at the service of, the British treasury. When his attempt was baffled and exposed, he shifted the odium with little concern to the shoulders of the Irish executive.

Following the course of Admiral Parker, who, not until after a defeat of the ministry on the constitutional question in the Irish Commons, was allowed to sail with the forces from that kingdom, we find his arrival at Cape Fear immediately succeeded by a combined plan of operations against the capital and port of South Carolina. The southern Americans, informed of these preparations, and elated with desultory success, undertook with alacrity the defence of their capital. Wonderful was the advance which the works round the town and at the fort on Sullivan's island made in a short space of time. On the 4th of June, 1776, the whole British fleet came to anchor off the bar. Some difference of opinion among the American officers as to the positions, the confusion of the citizens with their families retiring to a place of safety, and of the raw troops entering at the same time for the defence of the town, exhibited a scene the least promising that could well be imagined for successful resistance to the combined operations of the British forces, both by land and sea. General Clinton com-

manded the army, and Admiral Parker the navy. Moultrie and Lee were the two officers to whom was committed the fate of Charlestown. On the 24th of June the vessels weighing anchor with springs on their cables, began a fierce cannonade on the fort. Well was that fire answered from canon and rifle. Sure and deadly was the aim of the Americans, and the decks of the vessels were heaped with dead. In the heat of the action the American flag was torn from the ramparts by a shot. Its disappearance caused a sudden panic, and a feebleness of fire. A sergeant, named Jasper, seeing it outside, jumped out in the midst of the most deadly cannonade, and returning unhurt, placed it once more on the ramparts. This was the signal for fresh hope and renewed energy, and the fight was continued until night fell upon the scene. And never was it renewed. General Clinton, mistaking a deep stream for a ford, landed his troops on Long Island, and was unable to take part in the engagement, being kept in check by Captain Thompson, with about 700 men. The fate of this battle for years saved the southern coasts and states from the further ravages of war.

Anxious to follow the track of armed strife to where a more desperate enterprise and disastrous results awaited the American arms, we are arrested by the most important event in the struggle. Hitherto Congress modestly abstained from assuming legislative or executive functions. To defend the states from immediate danger, until the controversy with England should be brought

to a close, comprised and limited its duties. But the public mind had long looked on reconciliation as impossible, and turned to this unauthorised Senate for a final determination, asserting at once the liberty and the aim of the confederation. Congress shrank from the question as immature, or not within its duties, but referred it to the constitutional assemblies of the separate provinces, which were declared to be supreme. These assemblies entertained the dread question of separation from England, and in almost every instance referred it back to Congress, with their sanction and approval. For a moment Congress stood undecided in face of a proceeding so momentous. As yet there was hope of peace—as yet all difference may be adjusted; but this step would stake everything on the terrible hazard of war, and all their cherished ties with the land of their ancient home and love would be snapped asunder for ever. It was a time of deepest suspense. But suspense gave way; and on the 4th of June, 1777, Richard H. Lee, of Virginia, moved the formidable resolution, absolving the states from allegiance, and asserting that they were and ought to be from that day free. Prudence, or wisdom, or a well-founded awe of the consequences suggested an animated opposition, in which men then and previously distinguished for the most patriotic zeal took part. The resolution passed in the affirmative, and was hailed by the people with tumultuous joy.—From state to state the news spread, the augury and the guarantee of a new and exalted fate.

Congress deputed five* of its most distinguished members to embody, in a Declaration of Rights, the principles upon which were to be based the future liberties of America, and a justification for its renunciation of allegiance with England.

This justly celebrated document† which has since won the admiration of mankind, claimed for the confederated states all the rights of an independent nation. It was reported to Congress, after being approved of by a sub and general committee, and obtained its fiat on the very day, perhaps at the very hour when the British fleet fell down the tide in the harbour of Charlestown, where it was so signally and unexpectedly repulsed.

And simultaneously with these decisive proceedings, Lord Howe entered the mouth of the Hudson on which New York stands, with a more formidable armament than was yet engaged in the subjugation of the provinces. In that town anxious cares occupied the active genius of Washington. He had early seen the value of New York, its exposed condition and the necessity of defending it at every risk. And such was the risk, as in many minds to outweigh its importance. Blame, even harshest blame, was

* Thomas Jefferson, Virginia; John Adams, Massachusetts; Benjamin Franklin, Philadelphia; Roger Sherman, Connecticut; and R. R. Livingston, New York.

† See Appendix, where this great record of liberty is given in full, with the signatures attached.

mingled with the discussion evoked by the doubtful position in which the army was placed; and with privations of all kinds, imperfect defences, inadequacy of strength, want of the great resources of war, an ungenerous criticism pressed on the energies and faith of this extraordinary man. All testimony accords him the merit of having, under the circumstances, done every thing the utmost military sagacity could accomplish. In his face was England's proudest chivalry riding on those batteries so impregnable, wherever the ocean rolls: and day by day his preparations for defence went on, and such dispositions were made of his forces as to guard against every casualty and take advantage of every event.

On the other hand, England's choice soldiery, inspired by the highest names in history, panted to redeem their nation's honour. Superior in discipline, in number, and resources, it would assuredly bespeak no extraordinary bravery to long for an encounter with the ill provided and undrilled recruits of the continent. But truth takes pride in the admission, that there is no foe, their equals or even superiors in number and resources, whom that brave army of England would shun an encounter with. To counteract all these advantages, Washington's chief reliance was on the influence of his cause. Although his positions were his own choice, and afforded whatever there were of local advantage, the length and inequality of line within which lay his camp, required more men than he could spare, and the corps of observation were so scattered and separated by woods, morasses, and uneven grounds, that

they were in many instances unable to communicate with each other or with the head-quarters.

His principal position was behind the woods and heights which skirt the sea-shore of Long Island, situate in the mouth of the harbour; the other was in the town of New York; and all the artillery he could command frowned from every eminence on the river, ramparts, and bay. General Sullivan's division occupied a position considerably in front of the main body of the army encamped at Broklyn, near the New York ferry. As the British forces prepared to land on the southern point of the island, Sullivan's detachment was strongly reinforced, and the different positions on the heights, to his left. On the 22d of August, the British army effected a landing unopposed; General Hand, who commanded the Pennsylvanians, being forced to retire, so heavy and galling was the cannonade from the fleet. The British immediately extended their line across the island eastward, to a place called Flatland. They then formed into three divisions, that on the right commanded by General Clinton, Lords Percy and Cornwallis; the centre, directly in front of Sullivan, commanded by General de Heister; and the left by Major General Grant. The centre manœuvred in front of Sullivan's lines, while the right wing under cover of night, making a slight curve to the right, gained the pass near Bedford, on the Jamaica-road, and found it unoccupied. The left wing moved along the coast; and turned the right flank of Lord Sterling's division, stationed there to dispute the passage. Finding himself thus cut off and at bay

with Lord Cornwallis on another side, that officer formed the daring design of cutting through the enemy and crossing the creek.—Superior strength and equal valour baulked his attempt, and he was taken prisoner, most of his corps being either killed or drowned.—Clinton's division by this time was in the rear of Sullivan, who, as he was preparing for the onset of De Heister, heard the cannonade by which his left flank was driven back on the main lines. In this situation no choice was left, but to attempt at any risk to gain the camp at Broklyn immediately in his rear. Fierce and hot poured the avenging warriors upon his broken lines, and terrible the havoc which ensued, and which but few escaped to gain the American entrenchments. Their general was not among these. He remained a prisoner in the hands of his enemies. From the camp Washington saw the carnage, and had no means of saving this the most gallant division of his army. The safety of the camp demanded his immediate care. And wisely did he judge in not risking it by ordering to the succour of the flying troops a single regiment, or displacing a man in the lines, for their defence. The British troops on coming in front of his intrenchments, were with difficulty restrained from rushing forward, and attempting to carry them by storm. The prudence of the general, satisfied with the signal advantages he had already gained checked their impetuosity.

The engagement, carried on at various points and different intervals, on roads, forests, and marshes, continued from the morning of the

26th to the evening of the 28th, when the British took their position before Broklyn. The loss to the Americans has been never ascertained. Many men, when the lines were broken, escaped through the woods, and swam the river. The British estimate it, but upon no accurate data, at 3,300 men; Washington denies the loss to be more than 1,000, but in that thousand, even if it were no more, were a great proportion of the flower of his army. The British loss did not amount to 500.

The defeat was in every sense disastrous; and though the commander-in-chief had great confidence in his intrenchments, the coolness and courage of his men, and the yet unbroken influence of Patriotism, to which he had upon these days appealed in vain, it was determined in a council of war to evacuate Long Island. As yet retreat was practicable. If cut off, the fate of America would be at once decided. During the night it was begun, and ere morning arose, was executed. A friendly fog and extreme caution, insured the passage of the last man across the ferry, without being heard or perceived by the British, though encamped within six hundred yards.

One signal service did this defeat render to the cause of America. It dispelled the delusion, which maintained that the defence of the country needed not a regular army. The conduct of the troops in Long Island convinced Congress that an organised and permanent army was essential to the defence of the commonwealth, and a resolution was adopted to raise and equip it. Tardy

resolution, when a great army had landed in the country, and had obtained a signal victory. But that victory enabled Lord Howe to propose to Congress terms of accommodation, and without recognizing its authority, he requested that some of its members would be deputed to meet him for the purpose of agreeing upon some preliminary principles to form the basis of an amicable arrangement. Congress committed the negotiation to Franklin, Adams, and Rutlege. On the 11th September they were received by his lordship on Staten Island. Both parties were profuse of good wishes, but his main condition was "allegiance," and theirs "independence." The conference broke up, and General Sullivan, the bearer on his parol of Lord Howe's message, returned once more a captive to the British camp.

Meantime active preparations were made by the British to invest New York, and by the aid of their vessels, which were able to pass the batteries without much difficulty, to cut off Washington's communication with the country. New York is built on an island. The British army moved up Long Island and encamped immediately opposite the town, on the eastern banks of the eastern branch of the river. The fleet, sailing round Long Island, appeared in the sound which divided it from the main land at the north. Washington called a council of war, and was defeated in a proposal to evacuate New York. He communicated the result to Congress, and his own chagrin, strongly commenting on the insufficiency of the reasons which influenced the council.

Still more formidable advances by the enemy brought about a change of opinion, and it was finally determined to abandon New York. While the stores were removed by water to King's Bridge, vessels of war proceeded up both rivers, and it was found impracticable to continue this most necessary operation. Clinton landed 4,000 men, at a place called Kipp's Bay, on York Island, three miles above the town. The defenders of this port fled in dismay, and Washington coming to the spot, attempted to rally them in vain. The main body of the army was encamped on the heights of Haerlem, still farther up the island, and the other retreated; the regiments stationed in New York, with but inconsiderable loss, necessarily abandoning their heavy artillery and military stores. The shameful stand at Kipp's Bay occasioned this severe loss, and cost many lives both of officers and men. New York was immediately occupied by the British. The Americans retired on stronger positions back to Knight's Bridge, their front division in the direction of the town, being strongly intrenched at Haerlem. The British, flushed with success, pressed close upon them, forming an encampment across the entire island. A day had not passed after the retreat from the town when a large force appeared openly in the plain before the American lines. Washington, resolved that another disaster should not follow, appeared in front of the camp, and ordered two officers, Knowlton and Leetch, to attempt a flank movement, and cut off this party. In executing their orders, a far larger force was encountered, who were con-

cealed in the wood. With these the attack commenced, in which all the British were soon engaged. The two American leaders were shot dead, but the fight was maintained until the British retreated, leaving a considerable number dead on the plain.

This, though a slight advantage, was encouraging and inspiring. For the first time during the campaign, it broke the spell of fear, and the American leaders once more assumed their wonted courage. Washington availed himself of the power afforded by this unimportant victory, to lay before Congress the difficulty, danger, and perplexity of his situation, and the necessity that existed for re-organising the army, and raising its character by raising the pay and comforts of both officers and men. The British, feeling no disposition to force his strong position, contented themselves with attempting to turn his flanks or gain his rear. With the utmost skill and caution he baffled all those attempts, changing his positions daily as they manifested a change of attack. Every day the manœuvres of the enemy and his own, gave him fresh advantages; and after some severe skirmishing with a division of his left—when posted on the hills near the White Plains, in which, though the English had the best of the fighting, the number of slain was about equal at both sides—General Howe ordered a retrograde movement on New York. His design became at once evident. Forts Washington and Lee, the former in the island, and the latter on the Jersey shore, were yet garrisoned by the

Americans, and commanded the North River, the free navigation of which was all-important to the army of England. To storm these forts was the object of the present movement. The Americans were at the same time marching in an opposite direction.

The various movements above detailed took place between the 1st of September and last of October. On the 12th of November the attack on Fort Washington began. The British army attacked it at four points at once, led by their bravest generals. The storming parties were at first repulsed with slaughter; but, renewing the onset with fiercer courage, they gained the ramparts; and, cooped up in the fort, the Americans, pushed to the last extremity, surrendered prisoners of war. On the 18th Cornwallis passed the river to attack Fort Lee, which the Americans evacuated, leaving behind their stores and baggage. The loss to the Americans at Fort Washington was 2,700 men.

At this time Washington was at the Jersey side. Gloomy, indeed, were his prospects, and terrible the odds with which he had to contend. Lord Howe issued a proclamation, calling on the deluded colonists humbly to sue for pardon and peace. He promised that pardon on terms of unconditional submission, and spoke the language of a merciful conqueror to a routed army and fallen people. In this emergency, Congress was assiduous to repair the faults it had committed. The authority of the commander-in-chief was declared absolute in all things relating to the

war. But the term of enlistment had expired, and the army would have disbanded, if they had means or courage to fly.

Under such sad auspices commenced the retreat of the Americans upon the Delaware. Lord Cornwallis led the pursuit, and hotly pressed upon their rear—a broken bridge or narrow stream being frequently the only division between the two armies. Amidst all the disasters of that retreat, no consideration pressed so heavily on the American chief, as the defection of several influential citizens from the cause of the country. The approach of the pursuers determined Congress to adjourn its sitting for eight days, to assemble again at Baltimore. But, with every presage of evil upon it, that body remained true to its highest trust. Many measures were hurriedly proposed, but from no lips escaped the word compromise; and, delegating all necessary power to the commander-in-chief, with unchanged fortitude it awaited its fate.

The last resolution of Congress, after the most fervent exhortation to the citizens of every state to defend their liberties to the death, was the appointment of a day of humiliation and prayer, to invoke the blessing of the God of Nations on the efforts of America.

The dissoluteness of the British army was a better stimulant. Courage and patriotism, newly awakened, resented the rapine of the triumphant soldiery. The Pennsylvanians flocked to Washington's humble standard. In his heart there was even then no shrinking, and upon that standard no stain. The troops of the conquerors, as

they then proclaimed themselves, indulged in indolence and licentiousness beside the Delaware. They could not think that the naked, famishing army, that flung themselves into that stream were meditating so soon to re-cross it.

CHAPTER XI.

Washington re-crosses the Delaware—Affair of Trenton—Of Princeton—Close of the campaign—Parliament—France—La Fayette—Gallant feat of Arnold.

THE repose or plunder of Cornwallis's army was soon and unexpectedly interrupted; but the first intelligence of insecurity was heard with derision. However, active preparations were on foot on the American side of the river, for once more engaging in aggressive war. Washington concentrated his force at Trenton, and prepared to cross the Delaware. The passage was undertaken on the eve of Christmas-day. The army was divided into three divisions, and ordered to cross at the same time at the points at M'Konkey, Trenton, and Bordenton ferries. In the darkness of night, amid masses of broken ice, Washington's division, at the centre point, crossed the rapids of the Delaware; and the next morning rose on them, cold and shivering, separated from the other divisions, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the enemy.

The other divisions were unable to cross, owing

to the flood and floating ice. Washington again sub-divided his division into two detachments, commanded by Green, and Sullivan, who was once more restored to take his place where danger most threatened his adopted country. By different routes they marched rapidly on the town of Trenton, where a division of the British, amounting to 1,500 men, were posted, and a troop of light horse, under Rahl Loxberg and Kniphausen. The Americans, arriving by different roads, fell upon them almost at the same instant. The outposts retreated slowly, keeping up a continuous fire. But the onset of the Americans was irresistible, and the fire that most thinned the opposing ranks was from their own cannon, which were turned upon them from the ramparts, when seized in the beginning of the engagement. Attempting to retire by another road, the retreating columns were checked by a detachment suddenly thrown in their way; and the whole remnant of the camp, twenty-three officers, and 886 men, laid down their arms.

On the same day Washington re-crossed the Delaware with the prisoners and spoils of Trenton. The effect of the victory was sudden and decisive. The spirits of the army revived, and, with new confidence, arose a new impulse. Those whose time of service had expired volunteered to continue, and the army was reinforced to a considerable extent. The rapine and dissoluteness of the British army spurred to action all that there was of heart or virtue in the land.

Washington, availing himself of every circumstance, quickened by such inspiring auguries,

made a rapid provision for securing his prisoners, and in two days was again in the rapids of the Delaware, buffetting as best he could the torrent and its burden of ice. A combination of the different detachments of the British army was the instantaneous result. By rapid movements, impelled by revenge, they concentrated upon Trenton, vastly superior in number and resources to the army that had scarcely time to form on the shore. Both forces occupied together the small village—both were posted on sloping ground, and were divided only by a creek. A cannonade began late in the evening of the 2d January, 1777. It was continued for some time; but the British, satisfied of their strength and security, were first to desist, with the certainty of engaging in more decisive conflict at dawn of the next day. The night was an anxious one to the American generals. Once more the small army, on the safety of which was staked America's every hope, was in presence of a superior force. Retreat was impossible, with the river immediately in the rear, and its only result, even though it were possible to effect it, would be to risk the fate of Philadelphia. Nor could the issue of a general action be questionable. In this extremity Washington conceived the daring design of pushing forward into New Jersey. During the night this movement was commenced. The American army retreated from its position unnoticed, and directed its route towards Princeton, where the British had left three regiments, some field-pieces, and a few troops of light horse. A small party marching to the British camp, observed the Americans;

returned, and alarmed their brothers in arms. This prevented a surprise. The British rushed forward. The Americans, in the first shock, quailed, and the head of the column fell back in disorder. The general hurried to the spot, broke through the mass of retreating men, and stood between pursuers and pursued—his horse's head towards the former. This daring aroused the Americans to a sense of duty. They wheeled about and met their assailants; both fired, while Washington stood between them; but, by a most singular chance, or the anxious watchfulness of heaven, he remained unhurt. The conflict immediately became general, the Americans rushing headlong with the most desperate fury, and the British defending themselves with equal obstinacy. The issue however did not remain long doubtful. Victory was with the Americans, but it was dearly purchased if it cost no more than the valued life of General Mercer, a Scotch soldier, who brought to the service of America sterling devotion and rare abilities. Sixty of the British were slain, as many wounded, and 300 taken prisoners. While Washington was here securing the advantages of a decisive victory, the British were busy with the most formidable preparations for attacking him in the intrenchments at Trenton. Up to that hour no one in the British camp had the least idea that by a silent and masterly movement he had retired from these intrenchments without leaving a man or a single article of baggage behind.

The rapidity, success, and skill of his evolutions struck his enemies with a sort of awe. They

immediately resolved on a retrograde movement on New Brunswick, where were stationed their main supplies. On that backward march they reaped the harvest of their own licentiousness. The brutalities of the soldiers, especially of the Hessians—then, with their commanders, prisoners beyond the Delaware—were such, that, with the first ebb of their prosperity, rolled upon them the swift vengeance of those whom they had wantonly outraged. The militia of Jersey, its husbandmen and labourers, hung upon the steps of the retiring troops, and on every possible opportunity wreaked full vengeance upon the stragglers for the deeds of cruelty, lust, and rapine they had so wantonly practised. With rapid step, and a consciousness of guilt, and the justice of its punishment, the British officers directed their respective divisions towards New Brunswick, while Washington proceeded, with his reanimated but sorely-suffering army, to Morristown. His march, though a victorious movement rather than a retreat, presented a mournful spectacle. Many of the men walked barefoot and bleeding over the roads, rough with the winter's frost, and a track of blood marked their way.

Thus closed the campaign of 1776, which was opened at the battle of Long Island with auspices so brilliant for England. The two armies were now in winter quarters in the same province, not many leagues asunder. The passions of the people were roused. Plans were in hasty progress for organising a standing army. Every honourable impulse in the land prompted a wider, more general, and better organised resistance. Life

lost its value, when subject to the atrocities which a victorious army were not ashamed to perpetrate. America felt as one man that she could not survive this contest without disgrace, and shame, and slavery irreclaimable.

Nor must we here omit, as an episode in this year's campaign, the sweeping vengeance which one of a name little known to fame was dealing around him on the wide fields of ocean. John Paul Jones—whose deeds of daring and success partake so much of the marvellous as to invest him with the character of a rover or brigand—burned, sank, or captured in this year, sixteen of England's vessels, took rich convoys, sailed unchecked through every sea, made captures in the face of the British navy; and the whole stores, cannon, and provisions of an island at one time freighted his successful bark. To that bark and that hand the naked American army owed its salvation; for, capturing the brig *Mellish*, laden with military clothing, which he conducted in safety through many dangers, he was enabled to transfer to the use of the Americans those most essential necessaries which Britain had prepared for her far-off army.

Before we enter on the details of the next year's campaign, the proceedings of the British Parliament demand brief notice. The opposition, at the head of which were Chatham, Fox, and Burke, renewed the contest of eloquence day after day. As success or defeat burdened the tidings from America, the opposition and the ministry were aggressors or defenders in their respective positions, and the clang of anger rang long and

kindly through the senate halls. But, as the war deepened, England lost all interest in this strife to watch the more stupendous efforts of her army on far fields. The opposition lost ground with the country, whose sense of honor began to be aroused, and the ministry had an open field for the exercise of their peculiar tendencies.

But other agencies favorable to America were elsewhere at work. Congress early turned its attention to the necessity of foreign relations. The uneasiness, pride, and jealousy of France, attracted the strongest hopes of America. She used every means of cultivating the friendship and support of this great nation, and appointed commissioners to negotiate at Paris the preliminaries of friendly relations between the two countries. These commissioners were Franklin, Deane, and Lee. Deane had been some time in Paris, had audiences of the foreign minister, but was unable to effect anything decisive. By great exertions, and after many difficulties, he concluded an agreement with a French merchant, M. Beaumarchais, to ship for the United States clothing for 20,000 men, 30,000 muskets, 100 tons of powder, 200 brass cannon, 24 mortars, and a large quantity of military stores of all kinds. He undertook to supply these on credit, accepting Deane's security as the agent of Congress. A variety of obstacles interfered with the transport of these stores. The remonstrances of the English minister, who kept spies on all the ports, furnished the chief difficulty. At length Beaumarchais was able to despatch one vessel from Havre, in the beginning of November. She landed in New

Hampshire the April following, deeply needed and loudly welcomed, as bearing a large supply of arms, ammunition, and clothing for the opening campaign.

Deane had also undertaken and concluded another negotiation of far more brilliant results. The young and adventurous Marquis de Lafayette proposed to him to volunteer his sword, on the sole condition of obtaining the rank of brigadier-general in the republican army.—The proposal was acceded to, and though Congress and the army appeared irritated and jealous, the name and sword of Lafayette were destined to shed lasting glory on the war of Liberty.

Early in December, Franklin and Lee arrived at Paris, to associate their address and ability with Mr. Deane, in obtaining the support, or, at least, the recognition of the court of Versailles. Hesitating assurances and equivocal promises were, however, all that could be then obtained. The commissioners—more than ever convinced that it is mature determination, aided by action and success, that can alone procure the sympathy and sustainment of great powers—turned their thoughts elsewhere; and even were induced to dissuade from his purpose the generous young warrior, who was about to peril life, fortune, and fame in a sinking cause, by representing to him that the scattered forces of America were flying through their native marshes before the victorious and avenging army of England. But he was not to be disconcerted. At his own cost he purchased a vessel to bear him from the land where he was born to greatness, that he might share in the

success or fall of a struggling people. In early spring he gained the country of his ambition; and with the rank of major-general joined Washington's army. Another illustrious name, too, graced that muster-roll of warriors,—Count Pulaski, the gallant Pole, who, in the face of a Russian army, bore away the miserable monarch of his nation to reign over a free people. But Stanislaus was unworthy of the crown and the nation; and his deliverer now did battle in a better cause, and under happier auspices.

The spring of 1777 opened on vast preparations of war, both at the side of England and America. The latter taxed all her energies to raise and equip a regular army. And the former sought, by every means, to recruit her two great armies—that in the north under Burgoyne, now about to engage in important operations; and the other, which was quartered at New Brunswick, on the Rariton.

Meantime predatory excursions were planned and executed by both armies. Major Tryon, of the British, with about 2,000 men, sailed through the sound near New York, landed, and marched on to Danbury, where he surprised the American stores, which were filled with beef, pork, tents, and other necessaries. A general sack and conflagration completed the destruction of the place, care being taken to save all property belonging to the loyalists. On his return, Tryon was unexpectedly attacked by a determined force, suddenly collected under Generals Arnold, Sullivan, and Worster. Arnold, by one of those daring movements which it was his genius to execute,

outstripped the returning columns, and, wheeling round fiercely, attacked them in front. His force amounted to 500 men only; but from the measures he had taken, by barricading the road, Tryon was checked, and only escaped him by a flank movement, by which he was enabled to attain an eminence on a ledge of rocks to the left of Arnold. From this eminence the fire of an entire platoon was levelled at Arnold. His horse fell dead, and beside him lay his rider. A British soldier, advancing to despatch him with his bayonet, received a pistol ball in the head from the hand of Arnold. It was the same hand that, on Lake Champlain, bore the American flag over the burning wreck of his galley, a moment before she sank for ever; and, alas! that hand was afterwards turned against his country. An expedition, similar to Tryon's, was about the same time undertaken and executed by Colonel Meigs. With 170 Americans, he crossed from Connecticut to Long Island, burned twelve brigs and sloops, and destroyed a vast quantity of forage, clothing, and ammunition, for which he received a gold sword and the thanks of Congress.

CHAPTER XII.

Howe retires upon New York—Embarks for the Chesapeake—Washington marches through Philadelphia to oppose him—Battle of the Brandywine—Evacuation of Quebec—Battle of Germantown—Assault on Redbank—Defence of the Delaware.

At the opening of the campaign of 1777, Howe's army in New Jersey amounted to 7,272 men. His security, notwithstanding his strength, became more doubtful every day. A new impulse, revenge, was added to patriotism, the Americans feeling that the sacredness of home, a stake more dear than political liberty, had been wantonly violated; and the formidable levies raised by vengeance, were to be encountered on every line of march. Amazed and alarmed, the soldiers of the King remained within their defences until late in the spring. A second time their fears or improvidence saved America. As in the instance before Boston, Washington saw himself deserted by the army at a most perilous crisis. The term of enlistment had expired, and he had no authority or inducement to check the desire of troops, wasted by hardships and disasters, to abandon so terrible a service. At one time his entire force did not exceed 1,500 men. And, notwithstanding the determination and activity of Congress, and of the state assemblies, the enlistment of a regular army proceeded slowly.

But passion and patriotism once more supplied

the American army, and towards the end of May they quitted their winter quarters, and took their position at Middlebrook. The British, in turn, took an advanced position, and extended their lines towards Somerset court-house. This mutual movement, narrowed the space between both armies, which now stood in face of each other, and a decisive engagement seemed inevitable. But unexpected allies to the Americans rose, as it were, from the earth. The local militia—which, a few months before, were listless spectators of the invasion of the province—now gathered thickly and menacingly in front flanks and rear of the British lines. A few days' observation determined the course of the latter. Suddenly their wings contracted, and they shrunk back to their former entrenchments on the Raritan. Whatever may be Howe's original design, he now clearly abandoned it. But the sagacity of the American chief kept him in suspense, while anxiously watching the further movements of the British. Howe, in turn, coolly calculated every chance of drawing the Americans from their position, so as to engage them on equal ground, and tried every feint to effect this project. In these tactics, the American leader had no superior; and whatever movement was attempted by the British, he was sure to execute another, so as always to keep them at a disadvantage.

Finally, after an entire month wasted in continual change of dispositions, Howe fell back, suddenly and rapidly, on Staten Island. His object was the subject of uneasy conjecture in the American camp; and conjecture, always fruitful

in false alarms, here multiplied the most various and contradictory reports. One, perhaps the most disheartening, was, that Burgoyne, with the whole northern army, was in full march for New York. This was startling intelligence, and the commander-in-chief directed a strong division to push northward, so as to sustain, if need be, the northern army, while another division was advanced to the Delaware, and the main body remained midway, in anxious suspense, but ready to move either north or south, as exigency might require.

While in this state of indecision, a letter from Howe to Burgoyne was intercepted, and brought to head quarters. It affected to give information that Howe's army was destined for New Hampshire, where a junction was advised; but, so clumsily was the intended deception veiled on the face of this letter—evidently thrown in the way of the American scouts—that one hour after its reception, the army was in full march southward.

Intelligence was brought soon after, that the whole British force embarked at New York, and bore southward. The mouth of the Delaware was supposed to be its destination, and the great object of its attack, the city of Philadelphia. Separating upon an open plain, where they were within a few miles of each other, both armies moved by different routes, to meet again, and begin, on other fields, the work of destruction. The American army moved through Philadelphia, the seat of Congress, with pride and pomp, and blessings and prayers were showered upon its

march. It was then 14,000 strong in appearance, but about half that number, actually. The only motive which can be ascribed to Sir William Howe for so far changing the scene of his operations, was a wish to avoid the reaction of his soldiers' licentiousness in the unhappy province of New Jersey. Accordingly, when he landed in Maryland, he published a proclamation enjoining the strictest observance of propriety and order, and assuring the inhabitants that their properties and personal liberties should be inviolate.

He marched from the mouth of the Chesapeake, and Washington from Philadelphia. They met on the banks of the Brandywine, within two miles of one another. Washington's troops were, for the most part, untried. His interest was to avoid an encounter. His genius would have prompted it, and the country afforded advantages unequalled by those which appalled the same army upon open ground, in a position much nearer to Philadelphia, which it was so much the object of the one to guard, and of the other to gain. But even upon Washington popular feeling operated, great as he was, and in the strangest way too. America did not understand Fabian policy. Having an army, because it was an army, she thought that it was its business to fight. Strange that such a man should yield to such a temper! yet it is said that, in obedience to it, he risked the action of the Brandywine.

This history does not affect, and cannot afford, particularity in describing the technical movements of a battle. All it can here detail is, that

Washington commanded at one side; that under him fought and planned the bravest spirits of his country; that in their respective places, the chivalry of France had a true respresentative in the Marquis de Lafayette; and a greater chivalry still in the name and presence of Count Pulaski, all that spoke and lived of Poland. And at the other side, was Lord Cornwallis, a sufficient name. Others, too, were there, and they had superior forces; for Howe did not fall back on New York in vain. The action was terrible; America was defeated, at least retired. Nor need she blush. It is said, indeed, that the loss of the latter was owing to false intelligence, which changed the plans of Washington. This, even if true, explains the fortunes of war. Seldom was his sagacity at fault, and even if fault there was, we must not exclude from a share in the victory the great bravery and daring of the English army.

The result of the action bespoke fatality for America. Among the wounded was the young Marquis de Lafayette. Her loss, too, was double that of the loyalists; and the American commander was doomed to see, in silence and chagrin, the forces which might have told to great account, if left to his own direction, destroyed in this encounter.

Congress regarded the affair in a different light. The resolution of that body, rising with disaster, saw no defeat, and urged the necessity of another general engagement. "Save the capital," was its last stern and unconditional order. And efforts the most extraordinary were made to realise their resolution. The strength

of the province was evoked and compelled by every available agency. Washington's powers were still further enlarged. The liberties, lives, and fortunes of the whole people were freely staked on his honour and ability. Slowly falling back on the fated capital, he fortified every defensible post—took means, by sinking heavy *cheveax-de-frise* at several points, to obstruct the navigation of the Delaware—broke bridges and tore up roads; and General Smallwood hung upon the flank of the British, watching with burning anxiety for some favourable movement or embarrassed position to deal destruction among them.

Howe, on the other hand, aware of the importance of seizing the capital, pushed on with the utmost expedition consistent with security. His country's historians claim for him the highest merit for his masterly movements on this march, for the rare foresight and sagacity with which he outmanœuvred the Americans, as well as the genius and daring with which he overwhelmed them in action. Consummate ability he undoubtedly displayed; and it is but fair to admit, that the brilliant success of the campaign was in a great measure owing to his wonderful capacity as a general.

On the 15th of September, the Americans, who were endeavouring to gain a strong position, at a place called Warren Tavern, thirty-two miles from Philadelphia, were arrested by intelligence that Howe was in full march on that city. Immediately the resolution was formed of disputing his passage at every risk; and abandoning

his original intention, Washington ordered the whole army to wheel round, and bear down upon the enemy's line of march. The two armies once more, with rapid tread and high assurance, approached each other, resolved to try their fortune in a general action. The advanced parties met, and skirmished, when the elements poured down their interposing might, and checked them. So heavy was the fall of rain, that they who were thus engaged fell back without being able to see what had become of their assailants. The rain continued uninterruptedly during the entire night, and the next dreary day revealed to the Americans the alarming fact that their entire ammunition was destroyed by the wet. An instantaneous retreat could alone save them, and they began it under all the disadvantages of storm and rain, and broken roads, with naked feet and dejected hearts. All that day and night they continued their dreary route, and not until the approach of morning, on the second day, did they lie down to sleep in wet rags on the way-side, with no attempt to shelter themselves from the angry elements. But brief was their repose. They found themselves unable to fire a single shot; and all chance of safety now depended on retreating to some position where they might refit and provide ammunition. Facing to the left, they retired to Parker's Ferry, and there crossed the Schuylkil.

Howe did not attempt pursuit. His whole solicitude was directed to the preservation of his arms, ammunition, and men, in the storm, against which he endeavoured to shelter

them until the 18th. The first moment of repose suggested to Washington the advantage of reinforcing General Smallwood's detachment, which still hung on the left rear flank of the British. To General Wayne was committed this enterprise. During the march, while he was in night cantonments in a wood, where he believed himself perfectly secure, he was fiercely attacked by a division, under General Grey. The disaffected in the province, multiplying with British success, found means of betraying Wayne's position, and hence his surprise. He made a gallant resistance, and after the loss of between two and three hundred men, retreated through the woods. Howe, thus secured in his rear, urged the whole army forward on the Schuylkil, on the banks of which he encamped his left wing close upon the right of the Americans, stationed on the opposite bank.

While in this position, Washington, either feeling that Howe would cross the river higher up, where it was more fordable, or wishing to avoid an action, slowly deployed along the river, shifting his position rather by a succession of manœuvres than a retreat, to more advantageous ground, and leaving the fords but feebly guarded. Taking advantage of this, Howe crossed the river, and marched direct on the capital, which the American senate determined once more to abandon, not without urgent remonstrances, addressed to the commander-in-chief to save it at any hazard. But to him the hazard appeared too great, and he left the capital to its fate, using

the greatest efforts to remove everything in the way of stores up the Delaware.

On the 26th of September, Lord Cornwallis entered Philadelphia unopposed, and the next day Congress opened its adjourned sittings at Lancaster, another town of the province. Meantime Washington's army was daily reinforced. The detachment from the northern army under Mac Dougal arrived, and at the same time several regiments of troops and militia from Virginia and Maryland, which swelled the continental army to about 8,000 effective men of the regular troops, and about 3,000 of the militia. Howe, either taught by experience, or influenced by higher sentiments, forbade the least plunder, and on this occasion there was no act done to dishonour the arms of England.

Lord Cornwallis, impatient of any check, and unable to brook the presence of one lingering foe, on the second day after entering the city commenced a cannonade on the vessels in the bay, which yet frowned on the capital. After some hours' hard fighting, he succeeded. The vessels, stranded, were blown up, or fled, and the river was clear, which was of the utmost importance, as it opened an uninterrupted communication with the rich country on the Jersey side. The main body of the army encamped outside the town, their front lines, landward, extending to Germantown, a distance of four miles. Not twenty miles off was Washington, with an army (lately so dispirited) once more elate with hope and fresh vigour. Along the line of the Delaware,

between Philadelphia and the British navy, formidable preparations were made, at one side, to open the river, and at the other, to resist the attempt. Throughout the entire distance, almost at the same moment, the shock of war was felt. Indeed, from the Delaware to the St. Lawrence, raged one wide wasting flame of war; for, as Howe was approaching Philadelphia, Burgoyne, with a flushed army, and savage allies, was crossing the Hudson, and threatening destruction to the northern continent. But neither Congress nor Washington uttered one yielding word.—The Delaware blazed with the cannon of America and England; but the hopes of the former were blasted, and her strength failed. One by one, the forts yielded to superior strength, and the flag of England floated on the Delaware, from Philadelphia to the sea. The American army, on the other hand, approached the enemy long ere the fortifications on the river had yielded. Halting within a few miles of his front lines, Washington made hasty dispositions for storming, at once, every side of his intrenchments.

The fortune of the day was committed to Sullivan, Wayne, and Conway, with their divisions, who were to attack the left wing; to Greene, Stephens, and Mac Dougal, destined for the movement on the right wing; to Smallwood and Foreman, who were ordered to turn the enemy's rear; Stirling, Nash, and Maxwell taking charge of the reserve. The commander-in-chief, in person, accompanied Sullivan's division, in whose resoluteness he had implicit confidence. Sullivan repaid his general's trust, and vindicated, by his

daring and success, the bravery of the Irish nation. With the rising of the sun, at the head of the advance column, he charged fiercely
4th Oct. the enemy's line, and broke it. He was followed, closely, by the main body, driving before them the front ranks of the British. The right wing, too, staggered and fell back before Greene's impetuous onset. But the movement to the rear did not succeed, so as to charge in that quarter simultaneously. The British, recovering from the shock of the first onset, presented a more determined front, and several parties taking possession of some empty houses did much mischief among the Americans. One or two attempts to storm these places were repulsed with great slaughter. A thick fog enveloped the scene of action, and almost entirely concealed the combatants from one another, and from their comrades. This fog rendered it totally impossible for the different divisions of the continental army to co-operate with each other. The men posted in the houses continued to pour a destructive fire upon the main body; and while Greene's division began to waver, a panic seized the troops, who had penetrated to the very heart of the British lines, and a confused retreat followed. The loss of the Americans was very serious, and Washington's chagrin was deep and lasting, having calculated, surely, on victory, and feeling satisfied, during the early part of the action, that it was already in his grasp. The fog, which contributed largely to mar the efforts of his troops, facilitated their retreat, and the British were content to rest victors on a field

where, for a while, their valour wavered, and destruction seemed inevitable.

The American loss in killed and wounded was about 800, that of the British less than 500. Major-General Stephens, who commanded the left of the right wing, was cashiered for intoxication. How much, or whether any of the disasters of the day, was owing to his conduct, we have no means of ascertaining. Washington retired to his former ground for a short time, but again re-appeared and took position on the same spot, whence the attack on Germantown was made. His object was to keep the enemy as much engaged as possible in that direction, so as to divert his strength from the operations on the Delaware. Howe understood and eluded this manœuvre, by withdrawing his entire force into Philadelphia, and thus placing himself in more immediate communication with the detachment on the Delaware. The movements on the river are too minute, scattered, and desultory for the scope of our task. For months the operations were conducted with varied success, the British being sometimes repulsed, and sometimes partially successful in their attacks on the American forts at Mud Island, in the river, and Redbank, which was situate on the opposite shore at the Jersey side. One expedition, conducted by Colonel Count Donop, important both for its daring and results, claims a more detailed notice. This was undertaken against Redbank, under whose guns was sheltered the small American navy. Inferior though this little naval armament was, it had done dread work on the storming parties when attacking the

fort at Mud Island. Colonel Donop led a force deemed sufficiently powerful to annihilate at one blow both fort and navy. Marching rapidly at the head of 2,000 men, he scarcely paused under the fort of Redbank to make any formal disposition for the assault.

Redbank was defended by Colonel Greene, with about 400 men. At the approach of the enemy, the garrison gathered its strength into a compass not disproportioned to their number. The abandonment of one-half the fortifications was the result. Upon the deserted barricades leaped the besiegers with loud huzzas, which the compact force inside the second barrier answered with a terrific fire. Peal upon peal came in quick succession, amidst which the besiegers staggered back over the corpses of their comrades. Colonel Donop remained on the ground mortally wounded, and his force, so confident a few hours before, retreated in dismay, leaving at least 400 of their body, who returned no more.

Fort Mifflin was defended with equal obstinacy and daring by Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, if not with equal success. For nearly two months the whole British force that could be brought to bear on it by land and water, was kept at bay, and several assaults repulsed with loss. But the obstinate valour of Britain at length prevailed. Slowly the Americans were compelled to abandon their strong positions; and the vessels of war, overcoming every difficulty, approached Fort Mifflin (with its defences shattered by long and incessant cannonading) on the 11th of November, when it was resolved to

evacuate it. The garrison at Redbank, about the same time, by a timely evacuation baulked the vengeance of Lord Cornwallis, who was marching on it in full force by the same route which led to Colonel Donop's doom; and the small American navy, that so well seconded the efforts of the forts, dispersed—escaping under the Jersey shore to a place of safety, above Philadelphia. Congress paid homage to the bravery of the officers, both naval and military, who for so long a time and against such odds defended the Delaware.

Washington was completely foiled in his purpose of intercepting the supplies of the army in Philadelphia, whose communication was now unmolested with both shores of the river—from the capital to the sea. But he received an accession from the northern army, and intelligence for which he did not dare to hope. The operations of that army, and of the forces by which they were opposed, during the time we have just passed over, shall be now presented to the reader.

CHAPTER XIII.

Northern army under Burgoyne—Descent upon the States—Retreat of the Americans—Defence of Fort Schuyler—Benington—Stillwater—Saratoga—Capture of Burgoyne's army.

"The army embarks to-morrow to approach the enemy. The services required on this expedition are actual and conspicuous. During our progress, occasions may occur in which nor difficulty, nor labour, nor life are to be regarded. This army must not retreat."

June 30.

Such was the language of the ominous proclamation which heralded the operations of the British northern army. And that army had dread auxiliaries to whose native passions might well be committed the execution of these sanguinary orders. It would be impossible to say whether Burgoyne, who led on this devastating force, addressed them for the purpose of awakening the instincts of the savages, or by way of anticipating the acts of barbarity from the commission of which he knew it would be impossible to arrest them.

It will be remembered that in the summer of 1776 the American army evacuated the province of Canada. From that time until the arrival of Burgoyne, the operations of Sir Guy Carleton were merely defensive; and the Americans did not venture to disturb his repose.

When Burgoyne, at the head of the large force destined to invade the northern States, began his march, the Americans had possession only of Ticonderoga and the several forts about it. He invested them on all sides; and General St. Clair, first in command, finding his little force utterly inadequate to defend the extensive line of forts, the safety of which was essential to the fort of Ticonderoga itself—called a council of war, and submitted the humiliating proposal of evacuating the place, although the evacuation involved the loss of all the stores and baggage. The proposal received unanimous sanction, notwithstanding that step was one of great risk and greater delicacy. The strength of Ticonderoga was a familiar boast with all America, and the general who abandoned it without an effort, was sure to be assailed with all the bitterness of popular odium. Time, however, and the verdict of a court-martial, bore testimony to the wisdom of St. Clair's resolution. An attempt was made to save some of the stores, which were shipped on board a few batteaux, which left the fort as the army commenced its retreat. Burgoyne's disposition to pursue them, both by land and water, was prompt and determined. The batteaux were overtaken, and, after a brief and bootless resistance, all the American vessels were sunk or fired. On the track of the army hung the avenging savages who formed the van of Burgoyne's force. The destruction of the little fleet, and the defeat of some regiments in St. Clair's rear, gave a new direction to his march; his enfeebled resources suggesting the immediate necessity of forming

a junction with Schuyler, at Fort Edward, on the Hudson. Marching south-west, he succeeded in reaching this point, when the joint forces of both generals were found to amount to only 4,400. On the approach of Burgoyne's victorious troops this fort was abandoned, and the army fell back upon Albany. But in that quarter, too, a dangerous foe was in rapid march to intercept their retreat. St. Leger, with whom were the chief Indian auxiliaries, had made a circuit to the right, and was approaching Albany by lake Ontario and the Mohawk river.

While Burgoyne was meditating on the surest means of capturing or cutting off in the speediest way the American army, and his troops, in this hope, were surmounting all the difficulties of a march through the wilderness, St. Leger received an unexpected check on the banks of the Mohawk. While on rapid march with the Indians, athirst for blood and plunder, he laid instant siege to Fort Schuyler, on the Mohawk, the first place that presented any opposition. Colonel Hanniker, with a regiment of volunteers, hastily collected, determined to attack him in his intrenchments; but while on his route he was surprised by the Indians, and a detachment from St. Leger's camp. Hanniker was killed, and his army, after a desperate struggle, completely routed, leaving about 160 of their comrades on the field, to glut the barbarity of the Indians. But in that unequal conflict, many of them firing from the tops of trees, they made an impression on the red warriors they never afterwards forgot. This short battle sorely thinned them, and its

consequence was anything but satisfactory to their cupidity. St. Leger, in his correspondence with the garrison, held out as a threat their uncontrollable ferocity, which, if the fort did not at once submit, would commit indiscriminate murder, "not alone on the garrison, but on every man, woman, and child in the Mohawk country." The answer of Colonel Gravensfort to this inhuman menace, which it would be impossible to credit, did but one man then or since contradict it, is one of the noblest in any annals:—"I am determined," said he, "to defend the fort to the last extremity against all enemies whatever, without any concern for the consequence of doing my duty."

Besieged and besiegers redoubled their efforts, and the extremity which the garrison had dared was quickly approaching, when a strange revolution in the British camp gave affairs a different turn. Two officers, Willet and Stockwell, undertook the desperate attempt of stealing through savages and soldiers to convey to Schuyler intelligence of the garrison's distress. They succeeded, and, at the same time, a prisoner, acquainted with the language of the Indians, was prevailed on to enter their bivouacks, and dissuade them from the enterprise. They listened, and were convinced. St. Leger employed all his address to change their resolution, but in vain. Their war-whoops announced to the garrison that the danger of savage vengeance was averted. And at the same hour other intelligence, still more gratifying, apprised them that Arnold was hurrying to their relief, with a speed such as none but he could employ when on errands of battle.

The siege was raised in the midst of the confusion caused by the departure of the Indians, the main body of whom only remained on condition of an instant abandonment of this tedious warfare. Ere yet Burgoyne was aware of this, he revolved in his mind, with deep anxiety, the prudence and glory of a rapid movement into the country, which, while it opened to him a dazzling prospect of triumph, involved the danger of removing a large army out of the reach of those shores whence he received his chief supply. Ambition prevailed. But he determined to try if he might not rely on the rich produce of Vermont, which he calculated that the panic of the inhabitants and their supposed disaffection to the American cause would place at his disposal. A detachment of 500 men, with 600 Indians, was directed to explore Vermont, disperse any scattered militia that might guard it, and enter into terms with the loyalists. They were rescued at the sword's point. Baun, their commander, found himself surrounded by forces vastly superior. He paused when too late, and despatched a messenger demanding instant reinforcement. But before aid arrived the militia fell upon him, at a place called Benington, and totally routed him. This was a signal and most timely advantage, and it was obtained by about 800 men, without a single piece of artillery,—scarcely one man escaped. Colonel Breyman, despatched with a reinforcement by Burgoyne, arrived on the field too late to take part in the action, but not too late to engage in a fresh conflict with the elated Americans, now reinforced on their part by Colonel Warner's regiment. Breyman's force fought with

Aug. 22.

obstinate bravery for a long time, though wearied with a forced march. At length they broke and fled, abandoning their artillery to the Americans, whose commanding officers received the just thanks of Congress for the important and gallant service they rendered to their country. The British lost four brass field-pieces, 250 dragoons' swords, and 700 prisoners.

This defeat checked the tide of British victory. Hitherto it had swept with wasting fury over lake, forest, and plain. Burgoyne reined in his impetuosity in deep chagrin. He reluctantly admitted that any further advance would expose his army to starvation. And, as perplexities thickened around him, while he delayed for a fresh supply, the courage and resolution of the American army were restored. General Gates arrived to assume its command, the other commanders being summoned by Congress to undergo a trial for the abandonment of Ticonderoga. Gates's abilities and daring supplied fresh impulses of enthusiasm in the American camp. The word went forth that Burgoyne was in their power, and the army was swelled by militia and volunteers until it far exceeded that of the royalists.

Meantime American enterprise did not sleep. The plan of retaking Ticonderoga was suggested and adopted. General Lincoln accepted the task. Dividing his squadrons into two divisions of 500 men, under Colonels Brown and Johnson, he marched on Ticonderoga. Brown, arriving by the landing at Lake St. George, surprised all the outposts from that point to the fort. He stormed Mount Defiance and Mount Hope, took 200 batteaux, an armed sloop, and 290 Sept. 13.

prisoners, releasing, at the same time, 100 Americans, detained in those forts. The two colonels met before Mount Independence, but finding an assault on the fort impracticable, did not attempt it.

On the same day that these proceedings were changing the posture of affairs far in his rere, Burgoyne, giving up all communication with his magazines, crossed the Hudson, and was in rapid march upon the American position, near Stillwater. Within two miles of Gates's intrenchments he took possession of the heights which commanded the camp of the latter. The Americans, buoyant with recent victory and reliance on their general, received him with alacrity. Scarcely were Burgoyne's positions formed, when the din of battle raged on the intervening plain. Detachment after detachment hurried from both camps to the scene of action. —The outer posts at each side were repeatedly won and lost, and victory hovered over the hot death-strife for several hours, as if undecided which army to descend upon. Many a bloody corpse covered the plain, and among them were more than a proportion of the bravest officers. In the midst of the sulphureous din and carnage, the American riflemen took post in lofty trees, from which destruction was winged with death's certainty at the head of many a gallant Briton, whose waving plume or chivalrous bearing attracted the eye of these dangerous marksmen. Night fell upon the scene to close the work of havoc. There was no victory and no defeat. The British lost 500 men, and the Americans little less than 400. But that was

Sept. 19.

not the only result. The Indians in Burgoyne's camp, naturally disrelishing the service in which hunger and hard fighting were substituted for the plunder and vengeance and revel they were promised, fled in numbers from his camp.—His situation became most precarious. Every day dimmed his hopes and accumulated his difficulties. From his anxious calculations, however, the idea of retreat was excluded. While in most difficulties, intelligence was brought him that General Clinton was advancing from New York to his relief. This was cheering. His answer was, that he could maintain himself till the 12th of October, and no longer. Whether this message reached Clinton we know not; but that general, having reduced Fort Montgomery, after a brave resistance, and thus opened an undisturbed passage to Albany, indulged his army of 3000 men in unrestrained rapine and devastation. Then were loosed all the bad passions of war. Gates heard with pain that the King's generals sank their profession in robber practices and unlicensed libertinism. He remonstrated by letter, but it was England's sad mischance, and his great advantage, that these remonstrances were urged in vain. The 12th of October, the day that was to close the fatal term beyond which there were no means of safety, was fast approaching. The rations of the men were stinted; the savage allies fled to the forests; there was no ray of hope from Clinton's army. Gates was sedulously occupying every favourable position for preventing his enemy's escape. But Burgoyne, brave in every extremity, determined to foil him. With this view,

Oct. 6.

Oct. 7.

a movement was made towards the American left, so as to keep an open space at least at one side. One thousand chosen men attempted this movement. A sudden shock answered their first evolution. But it was met by equal bravery. The attack became general along the entire line of this division.

Fierce, and hot, and stubborn was that encounter, and meantime another division of the American army was forcing its way to the right of the British, thus engaged, so as to intercept their retreat to the camp. Two more regiments, ordered from the British camp, disputed this passage. Another charge on Burgoyne's left, under whose well directed strength it reeled backward, threw the whole division into confusion, and its total ruin was only prevented by the bravery of the two regiments ordered out to secure its retreat. The entire British forces quickly formed behind the front lines of their intrenchments, upon which the impetuosity of Arnold was urging the concentrated strength of his brigade. The obstacles were too great, even for him; but, baulked in his first attempt, he flew to a fresh regiment, which he led on to the redoubt, defended by Breyman. Breyman fell at his post; and Arnold, now within the lines, was hotly pursuing their defenders as they retired, still firing. Before they took shelter within the inner intrenchments, they wheeled round and discharged a joint volley. Arnold fell, wounded; but the battle, then becoming general, was interrupted by the darkness of night.

The Americans took 200 prisoners, nine pieces

of artillery, and the entire tents and stores of a German brigade. Among the British slain were Generals Frazer and Clarke; Burgoyne narrowly escaped, more than one ball having passed through his hat and clothes. The next day was one of deep anxiety to Burgoyne. His forces remained in order of battle and under arms, but no attack was made on them. He clearly saw his position was no longer tenable, and next morning the Americans discovered his camp completely abandoned. Instant precautions were taken, and his new position was soon more dangerous than the former. The 12th of October came and went. Burgoyne finding his hope of succour blasted, stood boldly at bay with his fate. Determined to break the armed circle that was closing around him, he retreated on Saratoga. Fatal field for that army that was "not to retreat!" Here his first attempt was to clear a way for a further retreat on Lake George. Artificers and workmen were dispatched to execute this task, but being abandoned by the regiments that protected them, they retired in confusion and gave up the works.—Nothing remained but to escape by night to Fort Edward. This attempt was in preparation when scouts brought intelligence that the Americans were posted, in great force, at the only ford on the river by which that retreat could be effected. Thus hemmed in, baffled, wasted, and defeated, Burgoyne sent a message to Gates, requesting to know on what honourable terms he would receive his capitulation. "On the terms," said that general, "of surrendering prisoners of war, grounding your arms." "Sooner," replied Bur-

goyne, "than ground our arms in our own encampment, we will rush on our enemy, determined to take no quarter." A more accommodating disposition, and a humane desire to avoid the effusion of blood, after a short negotiation, adjusted the terms of capitulation as follows:—

"The troops under General Burgoyne to march out of their camp with the honours of war, and the artillery of the intrenchments to the verge of the river, where the arms and artillery are to be left. The arms to be piled by word of command from their own officers. A free passage to be granted to the army under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, to Great Britain, upon condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest, and the port of Boston to be assigned for the entry of the transports to receive the troops whenever General Howe shall so order. The army under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to march to Massachusetts Bay, by the easiest route, and to be quartered in, near, or as convenient as possible to Boston. The troops to be provided with provisions by General Gates' orders, at the same rate of rations as his own army. All officers to retain their carriages, bat-horses, and no baggages to be molested or searched. The officers to be permitted on their parole, and to be permitted to wear their side arms." *

On the night of the day that the British army paid this homage to American valour, on the banks of the Hudson,—thus redeeming the boast that retreat was not for them—Gates received at his table Burgoyne and his staff; and the officers who so often panted to cross each other on the field of death, exchanged the most cordial civilities, and paid each other that mutual honour

* Ramsay, vol. 2, p. 367.

and respect, in discharge of which there is, under every circumstance, a generous emulation between the brave.

The number of men contributing to that pile of arms was 5790, the remnant of the noble army, at least 10,000 strong, independent of the Indian auxiliaries, that crossed the states' boundary in search of sure conquest and glory. The American army now amounted to nearly 14,000 men.

From that day America's history began to date. The nations of the earth, hitherto only spectators of the struggle, now awoke to a true sense of its importance and not improbable results. But darkness and gloom yet gathered on the path of her chief warrior, near the banks of the Delaware, where the flag of England fluttered free in the winter wind. The track of Washington's army, when retiring into winter quarters from before Philadelphia, which he left in possession of his enemy, was marked with blood which oozed out on the frozen roads from their naked feet. The winter quarters were a wood, not twenty-five miles from the capital, where, as best he could, the Commander-in-chief erected huts to shelter his naked troops; and, while in this situation, abundant provisions were supplied to General Burgoyne's army at the expense of the Republic.

CHAPTER XIV.

The English Ministry—France—Alliance with the United States—New Measures of Conciliation—Their Rejection—Private Intrigues—Evacuation of Philadelphia—Retreat of the British—Battle of Monmouth—French Fleet—Sullivan in Rhode Island—Operations in the South.

GLOOMY tidings arriving in England in mid-winter, awoke gloomy presages, and spurred the anger of the opposition to the excess of violence. The minister was asked what had became of Burgoyne's army. He had heard the terrible rumour—but dared not believe it—that it was then on its unarmed march homeward, fed and protected by its captors, and sworn to war no more. Sad reverse! But Chatham's magnanimity did not stoop to rail at the event; while the employment of the tomahawk and the scalping-knife, roused the lightnings of his indignation. And "against whom have you armed the savages?" said he. "Your *Protestant* brethren." How melancholy a commentary on the English name, If the victims were not Protestants, ferocity might glut itself unrebuked—the voice of England's greatest of great men, had been mute. Even He would not have dared to challenge the prejudices of his country.

But, though many storms broke on the head of the minister, his Sovereign's obstinacy and the senate's servitude bore him up. His majorities

rather swelled with his reverses. The Commons paid, in the midst of eloquent murmurs, the vast sums necessary to subsidize hireling swords abroad and venal retainers at home. The current of popular feeling clashed with a current equally as strong. The corporations of several towns and volunteer associations, raised troops in every part of the country for the subjugation of America, and active preparations gave assurance that the next campaign would be one of wasting and wide ruin to the colonies or to England.

But the court of Versailles anxiously watched the cabinet of St. James's. France and England have ever been, and, let hollow words of friendliness sound as they may, ever will be, vigilant, uneasy, jealous rivals. No time has been, and their destinies must change, or no time will be, when either, having the power, would refuse to strike at the other. One consideration may withhold the uplifted arm—the apprehension that the blow may not be decisive. At this time, too, England's haughty spirit and overgrown power challenged the hatred of many nations. Her intolerance of any rivalry on the seas, her monopoly of commerce and thirst for extended empire, generated a common desire to see her sceptre broken. But France, above all other nations, panted to circumscribe her power and baulk her vast pretensions. Old memories, present prejudices, and future interests alike suggested to her the adoption of every safe measure to humble the pride of so controlling and dangerous a neighbour.

The resolution of recognising the independence

of America was but the expression of a sentiment she had long cherished (delayed until then by motives of policy), and a rational doubt of the capacity of the colonists. Her proposals of recognition and alliance were made to the American commissioners on the 16th of December. They were generous, but frank. France admitted that her overruling impulse was self-interest, and therefore asked for one condition only, that no peace should ever be agreed on by America the basis of which was not severance from England. These terms—none could be more favorable—were at once acceded to; and while the Parliament, Ministers, and Monarch of England were involved in acrimonious controversy with each other, a definitive treaty of amity and alliance was signed at Paris by the King of France and the American commissioners.

Feb. 6, 1778.

Intelligence of this treaty reaching London in a few days, added to the difficulties that beset the minister, but it thoroughly roused the national antipathies of the people. Lord North's resolution was equal to the emergency. He determined to take measures, not alone for resenting the "unprovoked aggression" of France, but of detaching the colonists by concession from their new alliance, and making them the instruments of his future vengeance.

Two bills were hurried through Parliament—the one establishing as the basis of peace and of future international relations the perfect exemption of America from taxes, the supreme right of her own assemblies to raise her revenue and control her expenditure; but correlative with

these was the main condition of dependence on the parent state. The other act nominated commissioners, with abundant authority to give effect to these provisions.

Congress, although uninformed of the treaty with France, on receiving copies of these acts, solemnly repudiated the terms they proposed. The committee appointed to report on the bills, not only firmly rejected the proposals of England, but denounced, in the strongest language consistent with dignity, the entire scheme, as an insidious attempt to seduce the states from their unchangeable ambition of perfect independence. Pressed, as America then was, her army beset, her exchequer empty, her coasts menaced, her capitals in the hands of the enemy, she gave the highest proof ever given by a nation of indomitable fortitude.

Close upon the copies of the acts came the royal commissioners, Lord Carlisle, Messrs. Johnstone and Eden. They demanded a passport, with a view of appearing before Congress, and at the same time promulgated the terms they were commissioned to propose. The passport Washington refused, and Congress sanctioned his act. The commissioners then communicated with Congress by letter, but the proposals being based upon the dependence of the colonies, they were rejected indignantly. Congress felt it necessary to justify itself for even reading the terms, for which, its desire to stop the effusion of blood, was offered as an apology. With this vindication Congress was satisfied, feeling that it would be degrading to enter into any discussion of terms

based on a condition incompatible with the honor of the confederation.

The attempts of the commissioners thus frustrated, were directed from the pride, and purpose, and patriotism of Congress to the ambition and interest of private individuals. Among others an offer was made to Joseph Reid of Virginia, of £10,000, and any office he chose to name, if he could, *"consistently with his principles,"* assist in restoring peace and bringing the colonies to terms. He answered:—"I am not worth purchasing, but, such as I am, the King of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it."* Congress becoming apprised of these matters resolved, that as the object of the commissioners was corruption, no person acting as their agent was entitled to the protection of a flag. To this Johnstone replied by an angry manifesto, and the commissioners, again baffled, issued a proclamation, addressed to Congress, but intended for the people, and concluding with a threat of laying waste the country.†

The reply of Congress was dignified, although a pledge of retaliation. "We therefore," it concludes, "the Congress of the United States of America, do solemnly declare and proclaim that if our enemies presume to execute their threats, or persist in their present career of barbarity, we will take such exemplary vengeance as shall deter others from a like conduct. We appeal to that God who searcheth the hearts of men for the rectitude of our intentions, and in his holy

* Ramsay, p. 390. † Ibidem.

presence we declare that as we are not moved by any light and hasty suggestions of anger or revenge, so through every possible change of fortune we will adhere to this our determination."

This closed the negotiation, which was never more renewed. But while it was proceeding, and the Commissioners were sanguine as to its final success, the military enterprise of both nations was developing its resources and collecting its strength, to decide the controversy on the battle-field. Oct. 30.

The campaign opened by a robber foray. Either from their peculiar genius, or unscrupulousness, or a desire on the part of the British not to dishonour their own arms, this service was generally performed by the German auxiliaries. A squadron of Hessians, issuing from Newport, set fire to the meeting-house at Warren, and at Bristol laid the church and twenty-two houses in ashes. A quantity of jewellery and clothing compensated for these sacrilegious outrages. May 25.

But information arrived, that a French squadron, under command of Count D'Estaing, was in full sail for the mouth of the Delaware; and it became important at once to carry the orders of the cabinet into effect, by evacuating Philadelphia. This was accomplished on the 18th of June. No sooner did the royal army appear in New Jersey, than detachments from that of the Americans were hanging on their flanks and rear. The main body crossed the Delaware, and were in close pursuit. Arriving at Princeton, it became a question with Washing- June 24.

ton whether he should not fall on the retreating columns, and compel a general action. He so inquired from his general officers, and was answered in the negative.

Sir Henry Clinton, who during the spring succeeded to General Howe, now conducted the retreat. On arriving at Allentown, instead of following the direct route to Staten Island, he turned to the right, as if intending to make Sandyhook the point of embarkation. Washington, moving nearly in a parallel line, in a north-western direction, despatched 1,000 men towards Monmouth court-house; General Scott, with 1,500 men, having been ordered to attend the movement of the left flank of Clinton. The Marquis de Lafayette was ordered to undertake the chief command of the whole advance. Soon after General Lee, with a further reinforcement, arrived to undertake this command. His orders were:—bring on an engagement if there be not very powerful reasons to the contrary. General Lee thought there were such reasons; and when Washington was pressing forward with the main body to support the attack, he met Lee retreating. Sudden disappointment, perhaps anger, suggested such hasty inquiries as Lee felt to be an insult; but he suppressed his anger, and being again directed to commence an attack, he answered,

June 31. "You shall be obeyed, nor will I be the first to leave the field." Posting himself with the two battalions formed on an eminence to check the British, he redeemed his word. A heavy cannonade from the British was directed on these battalions. But they stood their ground

firmly, until they were intermixed with the British rushing impetuously forward. They then fell back on the main body, leaving one of their commanders dead, and Lee himself, last on the field covering their retreat. The main army was quickly forming in battle order on the slopes of the hill to which Lee retreated. The British pursuing their first advantage, attempted to turn the left flank, where Lee had again taken his position. They were repulsed and retired. A similar movement on the right flank had a similar issue. The British then fell back on the ground first occupied by Lee, a fierce cannonade from both armies continuing during these operations. A simultaneous movement from right and left, announced Washington's purpose of a general attack on this position. Night, however, put an end to the fray, the Americans remaining under arms at the points they had advanced to immediately near the British lines. Washington slept that night in his cloak under the shade of a tree, so anxious was he for the engagement which he anticipated with the first light of morning. But that encounter was destined not to be. During the short summer night the British army noiselessly left the ground, and by daylight were far from the reach of the Americans.

That day gave the latter an opportunity of counting and burying their dead and those of the enemy. They stated the numbers, thus—British 350, Americans 250. Major Dickinson, and Colonel Bonner were among the Americans. Colonel Monckton was deeply mourned by the retreating army, nor did his attachment to and

distinguished service in the royal cause disentitle him to every tribute of respect from the Americans.

This pause of triumph gave time for an altercation between Lee and the Commander-in-Chief. The former was brought to a court-martial, found guilty of disobedience and misconduct, and sentenced to a suspension for one year. Taking exception at once to the leniency of the sentence and harshness of the trial, men were found to make loud and bitter complaints against Washington, and seeds of dissension were then sown, which ripened into the long animosity of after years.

The retreat of Clinton was not afterwards molested. Washington, by easy marches, arrived and took his position at the White Plains, near King's Bridge, from which he retreated more than two years before, under auspices so disheartening. There he remained during most of the summer and autumn without the least interruption from the enemy, though within a few miles of their united force now collected in, and round New York. Towards the close of autumn he retired to Middlebrook, in New Jersey, where he wintered in huts as on the previous year at Valley Forge.

Providentially for the British fleet in the Delaware, the voyage of D'Estaing was delayed, and he did not appear off the mouth of the river until the fleet was safe in New York. Thither he instantly pursued it, and on the 11th of July, appeared off Sandyhook. Here he anchored, and continued for eleven days, during

which the British fleet, cooped up in the harbour, had the mortification of seeing a great number of English vessels taken. On the 22nd he weighed anchor, to the evident consternation of the British, who saw in an attack, which they hourly anticipated, the certain ruin of all their prospects. But D'Estaing was preparing to co-operate with General Sullivan, who, with 10,000 men was marching on the British camp at Rhode Island. The French fleet appeared off the harbour of Newport, and had scarcely anchored so as to be in readiness to co-operate with Sullivan, when Lord William Howe, with his whole strength, appeared in sight. D'Estaing immediately weighed anchor, and put out to sea to engage him. As the fleets approached, and both admirals were struggling for the most favourable position to begin an engagement, a high wind interposed, and separated the vessels. Great confusion in both fleets was the result. Without any aid from the guns of the enemy, several vessels were dismasted and disabled. Only two vessels at each side came to an engagement, and that without any result.

D'Estaing's vessel having suffered severely from the storm, and a slight skirmish, in which she was engaged, he prepared to sail at once for Boston harbour. This amounted to an abandonment of the enterprise, and Sullivan remonstrated, in almost an angry tone. D'Estaing was inflexible, and Sullivan, left to his own resources, was meditating on a plan of operations, when Lord Howe appeared in full sail for the island, having the flower of the British army on board

Lafayette had been dispatched to Boston to endeavour to prevail on his countrymen to return to the scene of conflict. The Marquis rode the whole distance to Boston and back, 140 miles, in 13½ hours. But his journey was in vain; and what he regretted more, his return late, to take part in the action, in which Sullivan was compelled to engage on his retreat from Rhode Island. His first retrograde movement was the signal for instant pursuit. Two detachments, arriving by different roads, were received by Colonel Henry B. Levingston and John Laurens, Aid-de-camp of Washington. The light troops, commanded by both these officers, were overpowered by numbers, but fell back steadily, and kept up an uninterrupted fire on their pursuers. The fight thickened as they closed upon Sullivan's lines, and the light troops being reinforced, wheeled round, charged fiercely, and repulsed the enemy. Sullivan formed in battle order, and gave indications of an anxious desire to come to a general engagement. These appearances deceived the British, and while they, in turn, were making dispositions for a decisive encounter, Sullivan retreated by night, unobserved and unopposed. He succeeded in removing every man and every article of baggage out of the island.

This abortive expedition closed the campaign in the northern states, except some predatory excursions, which unequally rank with the great military events of our narrative. One of these excursions forms a mournful episode in history. A British foraging party, having been despatched from the camp at Staten Island, were watched by

a regiment of Americans, under command of Colonel Baylor, who took their station in a large barn, to await and intercept the foraging party. At the dead of night, a Major-General Grey, being apprised of the position of the Americans by spies, contrived to cut off the sergeant's patrol, that kept watch over their rest, and completely surprised them. The British rushed upon the unarmed men, as yet asleep, and though they cried for quarter, as they awoke amid the gleam of bayonets and the groans of the dying, the work of massacre went on without mercy,—the few who escaped owing their lives to the imperfect light, or the inability of the soldiers, in the confusion, to distinguish the dead from the living. Such are the usages of war. Nay, grave men have not blushed to say that this butchering was sanctioned by its laws. But we turn from these sickening details of rapine and slaughter to follow an expedition undertaken in the summer of 1778, for the reduction of East Florida. This expedition was committed to the genius and courage of General Robert Howe, with 2,000 continentals. Howe's march was uninterrupted until he arrived at Fort Tonyn, on St. Mary's river. The British, who garrisoned this fort without making any effective resistance, retreated to St. Augustine. But another armament, equipped at New York, were bearing down on the southern states, with the immediate object of subjugating Georgia. On the 23rd of December this armament entered the Savannah, and Major Prevost was marching from St. Augustine to join in the expedition. General Howe hastened to

check Lieutenant Campbell, who led 2,000 men from the mouth of the Savannah, towards the town of that name. Gaining a defensible position in the main road, he awaited Campbell's approach. While the latter was preparing to force the passage, he received from a Negro intelligence of a path by which he could turn Howe's rear unobserved. Taking advantage of this passage, a division marched to the rear of Howe, and as they were supposed to attain that point, Campbell attacked Howe in front. The Americans soon discovered their position, and fled, leaving the high road to the capital completely undefended. Prevost did not arrive until all Georgia was in the hands of the British. And here alone, of all the states, the royal authority was restored; and the assembly of the colony convened, by royal proclamation, transacted business under British auspices.

The winter of 1778-9 produced no important result. Washington, strong in his position at West-point, did not attempt any offensive operations; nor, as the spring advanced, did he deem it prudent to risk a change of position or a division of his army. But with the spring were renewed the sack of towns, the destruction of property, the waste of farms, and the most uncontrolled licentiousness. The soldiers of England not alone committed enormities that would make even the forest warriors blush, but attempted to reconcile them with the recognised laws of war, and the fastidious civilisation of their native land.* We

* "I should be very sorry that the destruction of these

have not space to question the bloody tenets that sanction burning and pillage; but it is not too much to hazard the opinion that the necessities of war are subordinate to the requirements of humanity, and that there is no code which does not condemn useless barbarity, practised in wantonness, on defenceless women, the robbery of their wearing apparel, and the rude scoffs and insults with which the British in these forays repelled their prayers for mercy. We shall spare our readers the pain of the details which a whole year's successful and almost unchecked rapine wreaked on the devoted towns, farms, villages, crops, dwellings, and churches along the coasts of Virginia, Connecticut, and the parts of the state of New York within reach of the British army and navy. During the spring and summer several hundred houses, farms, and stores were completely destroyed, and many entire towns laid in ashes. The Americans, unable to save their property, smiled over its ruin. They had learned to regard every sacrifice trifling, which was made in the cause of liberty; and the plundering army that hoped to wear out their patriotism by these excesses found, instead, that they stamped their resolution with its most lasting character. The invaded states implored Washington for succour, but accompanied their request with the assurance that they would submit to any fate rather than

villages would be thought less reconcileable with humanity than the love of my country, my duty to the King, and the laws of arms."—(Proclamation of Governor Tryon; Bancroft, p. 420.)

that he should risk the safety of the army.* During the progress of this robber war, several feats of heroism were displayed on both sides. Among these the storming of Stoneypoint by General Wayne was the most distinguished. Stoneypoint is situated on the North River, near New York. Wayne arrived before it in the evening, after a forced march. He allowed his troops a rest of some hours, and commenced the attack at eleven o'clock. The place was defended by a deep morass, then under full tide, a double row of abbatis, and very strong breastworks. Against these the Americans moved in two divisions, with unloaded arms and fixed bayonets, under a tremendous fire from cannon and musketry. They fell thickly, but never wavered. Wayne himself was wounded, but demanded to be borne forward, that he might die within the fort. When the cannonade was no longer available, the assailed and assailants met hand to hand in the fort. But both divisions arriving at the same time, rendered further resistance on the part of the garrison impossible. Five hundred and

* "The British army may probably distress the country exceedingly by the ravages they will commit, but I would rather see all the towns on the coast of my country in flames, than that the enemy should possess West-point."—(General Parsons to Washington, Ramsay, p. 414.)

The answer of the colonists to an offer of desisting from rapine on condition of returning to their allegiance was equally determined:—"Flames having preceded the answer to your flag, we will persist to oppose to the utmost the power exerted against injured innocence."—(Colonel Whiting to Sir George Collyer, *idem*, p. 410.)

forty-three prisoners, fifteen pieces of ordnance, two standards, and a large quantity of military stores, rewarded this gallant enterprise, with which Wayne returned to head-quarters.

Other enterprises there were, with different results, in which British soldiers and colonial soldiers displayed equal valour.

While wasting war was devastating the towns and homes and temples of America, adverse circumstances circumscribed the daring ambition of England's ministry. France was at open war with the country. Her fleets were sweeping the western seas, and the minister of Spain, almost without notice, delivered to the minister a declaration of war. The genius of Britain, stubborn in the worst reverses, prepared to encounter these formidable foes; and in the southern states of America her arms were victorious in every field. General Lincoln had been entrusted by Congress with the defence of the Carolinas and Georgia. His army was undisciplined, and unprovided. Suspense, dread, and disaffection were among the inhabitants, and the task committed to the young general was one of dangerous magnitude. A new and formidable enemy emerged from the woods, as hostilities were commencing. These were a large body of Tories, who formed an alliance with the Savages, and led them to the plunder and massacre of their fellow-citizens. Their march of pillage towards the British camp was arrested near Kettlecreek, where they were attacked and completely routed by Colonel Pickens, with about 300 of the inhabitants.

Meantime, the principal armies under Lincoln at one side, and Prescot on the other, moved from their respective positions, each with a view of circumscribing or arresting the operations of the other. The Savannah River separates Georgia from South Carolina. Prescot's headquarters were at the Georgia side, and Lincoln's at the other, far up the river. Both crossed it at the same time, Lincoln directing his march on the capital of Georgia, and Prescot on that of South Carolina. Moultrie, who disputed the passage of the latter, was compelled to retreat. He did so with steadiness and order; but as Lincoln became aware of the danger of Charlestown, he changed his route, crossed the river, and pursued Prescot. The march of the latter along the coast road was unchecked and unmolested. He was accompanied by large bodies of the savages, who were allowed to indulge all their evil propensities on the lives and properties of the inhabitants. Under these sad reverses, the spirit of the Carolineans began to quail. No hope had they of succour or relief, and the disaffected availed themselves of the general panic, not alone to join the royal army, but to wreak vengeance on the Republicans.

But Carolina was not deserted. Rapid as was the march of Prescot, save where delayed by plunder, that of Lincoln was still more expeditious; and the citizens prepared to defend the capital. They at once abandoned and burned the suburbs, and the city was put in a posture of defence. To support that defence, 3,300 men

manned the lines and batteries, and when Prescot appeared before it, he found the place so strong that he was in no disposition to May 11. refuse some preliminary negotiations, which the garrison, to gain time, began. They asked him for terms. He replied, "propose yours;" and they proposed neutrality, which he rejected, and offered conditions they could not accept. But Lincoln was now at hand, and an intercepted despatch of his, gave intelligence of his approach to the British. They instantly determined on a retrograde movement. As General Lincoln appeared, Prescot again halted and encamped. Each was satisfied with watching the movements of his foe. On the 20th of June, an attack was made by about 1,200 Americans, on a division of the British strongly posted at Stony Ferry. The attack was fierce and desperate, and equally so was the defence. After nearly two hours fighting the Americans were compelled to retire, losing several men and some distinguished officers. The main body of the British, notwithstanding, slowly retired, and fell back on Port Royal, and thence to their former position in Savannah. Here their repose was interrupted by the appearance of Count D'Estaing Sept. 1. off the harbour with his entire fleet. General Lincoln hastened to form a junction with his powerful ally, and the position of the British was invested both by land and sea. The operations of the seige began on the 4th of October, and a cannonade was continued for several days, when Prescot's demand to be allowed to remove the women and children to a

place of safety, was refused. The beseiged were in evident distress, and could not prolong the defence of the place for many days; when the impatience of the French officers precipitated a change of operations, which saved the garrison. This was an attempt to carry the place by storm. The French were landed 3,500 strong. D'Estaing led these troops to the assault, and nearly one thousand more marched under command of Lincoln. In the midst of a heavy fire, each planted his standard on the British redoubts. But the cannonade from the batteries was redoubled. The utmost and most obstinate courage of the assailants could not gain another yard's advance, and after enduring the uninterrupted fire of the forts for an hour, the besiegers retreated in disorder. In that attack Count D'Estaing was wounded, and Count Pulaski, the last of the Poles, fell to rise no more. The French retired on board their vessels, and their sails, fluttering with shame, bore their disappointed chivalry from the harbour. The Continentals retreated up the Savannah, which they crossed far inland.

The loss of the French and Americans at the storming of Savannah, was nearly 1,000 men.

CHAPTER XV.

America's Crisis—The South—Third Siege of Charlestown—Surrender—Short Truce—Carolina again in arms—Gates—His Defeat—Virtues of a Defeated Nation—The army—Arnold's Treason—Major Andre.

As this limited history is approaching to its appointed close, there is no space left for the consideration of the interesting domestic embarrassments of the states. The impolicy of a tax at first suggested the idea of a paper currency. The emission of these paper bills multiplied enormously with the progress of the war. Specie there was none. Foreign credit there was scarcely any. The security afforded by the paper bills became questionable, and their value was depreciated. Voluntary contributions from the respective states were demanded, and in general refused. An attempt was made to consolidate a revenue, and to draw in the over issue, redeeming it by a substitution no more solid than itself. During whole campaigns the commander-in-chief, totally destitute of resources, was obliged to compel requisitions of food and clothing from the inhabitants. But they bore even this the heaviest of burdens, thus proving how unfounded the apprehension that shrank, in the first instance, from the imposition of a tax.

The spring of 1780 opened in a widely-raging war, extending over all northern America and

half of Europe. France, Spain, Holland, Germany, were in arms. From the pole to the line war's blast swept over land and water. The strife of blood, which only five years before began in a chance affray between a single soldier and citizen, in a neglected street in Boston, now engaged the armies, navy, and resources of most of the great military powers of Europe. England faced the combination with undaunted resolution. True to her character, in this exigency she vindicated herself with a fidelity of purpose so unshrinking as to redeem her pride, her passion, and her vices. Her first military operation on the new continent was an expedition against the southern states. General Clinton in person led this expedition, and sailing from New York in December, he reached Georgia about the 1st of February. On the 11th they arrived within thirty miles of Charlestown. From thence they proceeded towards the town, taking and garrisoning every defensible post on the line. Nine thousand of the flower of England's army were now before the precarious defences of Charlestown, manned by about 3,000, under command of General Lincoln. Succour was daily expected, and though the general recommended a capitulation on the terms proposed by Clinton, the garrison refused, and determined to defend the place to the last. The British navy was nearly as far superior to that of the Americans as the British army. Post after post was taken, and their defenders made prisoners or slain. The fleet moved almost into the heart of the town without receiving any check from the American squadron. The fort on the island,

where Moultrie made so gallant a stand against Parker and Cornwallis, surrendered to Captain Hudson. All seemed prepared for an assault, which the Americans had no practicable means of resisting. A day's armistice was with difficulty obtained from Clinton, with a view of considering the terms he proposed. He allowed one hour beyond the time to expire, and then his fierce cannonade, from land and water, opened on the fated town. The citizens petitioned Lincoln to capitulate, and he wrote to General Clinton, offering to accept the terms formerly proposed. Clinton, unwilling to cause useless bloodshed, expressed himself satisfied, and the next day Major Leslie took quiet possession of Charlestown. May 11.

Upwards of 400 pieces of artillery were surrendered, 2,500 men gave up their arms, and the number of officers was much greater in proportion. By the terms of capitulation the garrison were to march out of town and deposit their arms in front of the works; but the drums were not to beat, nor the colours to be encased. The continental troops and seamen were to keep their baggage, and remain prisoners-of-war till exchanged. The militia were to retire to their respective homes as prisoners on parole, and, while they adhered to their parole, were not to be molested in person or property by the British troops. The inhabitants, of all descriptions, were to be prisoners on parole, and hold their property on the same terms as the militia. The officers of the American army and navy were to retain their horses, dogs, swords, pistols, and baggage; and

General Lincoln to be allowed to send unopened despatches to Philadelphia.

These were humiliating conditions. But America felt the sad reverse much more deeply for its bearing on her struggle, than on account of its shame. The people of South Carolina lost faith in the common cause, and received, if not with thankfulness, at least with great attention, the proposals of mutual protection and dependence offered by the victorious generals. Nor was any opportunity omitted on the part of the British to conciliate to their interest the wavering provincials. The utmost stretch of royal clemency was promised to all who returned to their allegiance, and threats the most terrible were held out against all who, with arms or otherwise, attempted to prevent the obedience and submission of the colony.

Having taken these precautions, General Clinton returned to New York, and the command, civil and military, devolved upon Cornwallis. Taking advantage of the disposition everywhere manifesting itself, his lordship devoted all his attention to the improvement and consolidation of the civil government, which he was willing to base upon the broadest principles of provincial liberty. In the fulness of supposed success, he attempted to place English authority on the most solid foundation, by associating with it the military as well as legislative establishments of the colony. This test the American loyalty was not yet equal to. The inhabitants sought peace, to avoid the burthen as well as the hazards of war, nor could they, who gave up arms in the

struggle for liberty, brook a service associated with oppression, one of whose hard duties may be to war with their compatriots and brothers in arms.

This spirit did not abate when intelligence arrived that an army was marching to the aid of South Carolina, under the victor of Saratoga. The news was heard with undisguised rapture, and the clang of arms again echoed throughout the provinces, wherever the presence of the British did not awe the rising enthusiasm of the people. Once more parties of volunteers and militia bivouacked, and resigning the sickle, the hoe, and the shuttle, men of every rank felt their first duty to be, the defence of their country. In the midst of what the British deemed lasting repose, a scattered party of Sumter's corps, routed before the capitulation of Charlestown, took signal vengeance on a party of Royalists, and a detachment of the royal forces stationed at Williamson's plantation. In his second attempt on a party at the Rocky Mountain, Sumter was repulsed with loss; but this commander soon repaired that loss by surprising and cutting off the Prince of Wales' regiment, stationed at the Hanging Rock. Of 278 men of this regiment only nine escaped. The whole north-western frontier was by this time in arms, and the Republican army, arriving from different quarters, found everywhere a disposition to aid and sustain it. Major-General Kalb assumed the command, and by the advice of a council-of-war he directed his march, not by the shortest route, to the British encampment then at Camden. But Gates, soon after arriving,

changed this disposition, and marched by the shortest and most difficult road. The march was difficult and harrassing; but he was inured to labour, and his hardy troops, though sorely pressed, did not complain, or, if murmurs were heard, they were hushed at the first sight of an officer, who enjoyed all the respect, because he shared the privations, of the common soldiers. Singular advantage of those who serve for higher rewards than a soldier's pay!

Gates reached the frontiers of South Carolina, with worn out energies but undiminished hopes. He, too, published a proclamation. He called on the inhabitants to take up arms, and drive from their soil at the risk of life their oppressors and enslavers. He was free to pardon those who had forgotten their duty as citizens, unless they joined the enemy in exercising any acts of barbarity.

The force led by Gates amounted in all to 4,000 men, about 1200 of whom were regular troops. Lord Cornwallis advanced from Camden to meet him with about 2,000 men. Gates was pushing forward to gain an advantageous position, and on the night of the 15th of August, his vanguard encountered that of Cornwallis. An unexpected encounter is ever fatal to untrained troops, and the almost instantaneous result was, the confusion of Gates's entire positions from the retreat of the raw militia. By great exertion order was restored, and the two armies halted. Next morning, with the dawn, the action became general. But the militia under Gates, not yet restored since the panic of the preceding night, fled almost at the first charge, by which the continental

became as far inferior in numbers to the royal army as the latter was to the former before the action commenced. Gates even thus abandoned, behaved with his accustomed valour, and never was field more desperately disputed than by his regular troops. They even succeeded in taking a large number of prisoners, but being at last surrounded and borne down by numbers they gave way and fled. The loss was great on both sides, but America's chief loss was in the complete annihilation of Gates's military prestige. For the loss of this battle he was brought to trial and superseded in command.

The defeat was followed by another almost equally disastrous. Sumter, whose bravery had done so much to re-awaken the patriotism and courage of the province, was on his way to join the main army with prisoners and stores when he was surprised by Tarleton returning from the pursuit of the fugitives from the last battle. Attacked in the night and by superior forces, his entire detachment was dispersed, taken prisoners, or slain. Once more the province was at the foot of the conqueror. And a relentless victor he now behaved. Several of the militia, who after having submitted to the British again took up arms for their country, expiated on the gallows the crime of patriotism. Let this be not understood as an accusation; for, while we claim for the victims the title of patriots, we willingly admit the right of the conquerors according to their understanding of the relation to call them rebels and deal with them accordingly.

General Gates's retreat was one unvaried ca-

lamity. We cannot follow it while other scenes of higher importance claim our attention elsewhere. As the work of vengeance proceeded, death, exile, ruin, became the ambition of the Americans. There was some yielding; sordid spirits will be everywhere, but devastation of property and danger to life were courted as holy charms which great and good men wooed with prayer. But the highest sacrifice that was offered to liberty, was the gentle advocacy of womanhood. On no occasion during this long and wasting war was patriotism more tested. The gaiety of the ball-room, so seductive in female eyes, had no charms for the women of South Carolina. Better sphere for them, the prison-ships—better exercise, stepping on the road of exile. No country where the life of virtue is so guarded can ever perish. Where fathers, brothers, husbands, lovers, were on exile's way, *the gentle ministers of freedom* blessed them; where they were doomed to follow, they trod the road of banishment lightly and uncomplainingly.

Fairest source of hope's dawning! And it never changed afterwards. But other influences prevailed in other quarters. Men were found, who, from predilection or interest, adopted the cause of America's enemies. A Major Ferguson placed himself at the head of these. He appeared on the borders of North and South Carolina. His presence excited deep chagrin, and sped a new enterprise. A confederation of volunteer officers from different states, who might have been quiescent in presence of a British army, could not brook the establishment under

Fergusson of a traitor corps. They were bound by no discipline. No one ruled—no one guided—no one flinched, though sufferings untold, and hardships unheard of beset them. They slept without tents, and lived without food. But, in proportion to their privations, multiplied their numbers, and increased their enthusiasm. They surrounded Fergusson on King's Mountain, and he proved himself worthy of his assailants. Oct. 7. He attempted to defend his post by successive charges with the bayonet, but the Americans, placing themselves in the positions most advantageous to riflemen, took deadly aim, and after a short conflict Fergusson fell mortally wounded, when the action ceased, and nearly 1,000 men surrendered prisoners of war.

Meantime, Sumter, twice routed, but oftener victorious, was again afoot. Collecting the few who had escaped the defeat of the 18th of August, and as many new adventurers as would join his yet unbowed standard, he provided horses, and by a succession of rapid movements, eluded all pursuit, and at the same time found opportunities of harrassing the enemy. The British, in attempting to capture him, exerted the greatest address and daring. Once or twice, he utterly routed the forces commissoned to cut him off.—Tarleton, his old foe, commanded one of these expeditions. Sumter received him as became his daring, at a place called Black Stokes, on the River Tyger. The encounter was obstinate and bloody. Tarleton at length retreated, leaving a great number of men and three officers on the field; but the victory was a dear one to America,

for Sumter received a wound which checked for a while his gallant enterprises.

Cornwallis was pushing on towards North Carolina. He had delayed, indeed, to satisfy the craving of civil tyranny; and he now found that, in a country where he thought the sword and the terror of a sweeping law of vengeance had left not one man to resist him, enemies more formidable than any he had yet encountered, were swarming round his bivouacs, tracked his line of march, and dealt sudden and sure death on every detached corps that separated itself from the army. Alarmed at these appearances, he halted, and retraced his route. His last movement may be said to be a retreat.

While the Southern States were undergoing all the reverses and miseries of unsuccessful war, the fortunes of America were still in greater peril, where the two main armies kept each other at bay. This did not result from defeat in the field, but from a failure in resources. The value of paper bills had so depreciated, and such was the want of credit, that the whole frame of society was convulsed. Those who had provisions refused to exchange them for a currency that was every day losing its artificial value; and even if provisions were abundant, the pay of the soldiers was not sufficient to supply them with a single meal of the worst food per day. "Four months' pay of a private," said the officers of the Connecticut line, "would not purchase a bushel of wheat, and the pay of a colonel would not purchase oats for his horse." Mutiny at last began to appear. Two regiments of the Connecticut line took

up arms, and said they should have food or would abandon the service. Expostulation only was used to check the revolt, and it succeeded. Washington at last issued the stern orders of supplying themselves with food at the point of the bayonet, unless the magistrates of the neighbouring districts furnished a stated quantity by a given day. This line passed, there could be no difference between an invading and a protecting army. But to cope with difficulties such as these was the peculiar genius of Washington.

In this state of affairs, British intrigue found its way into the American camp. Placards exciting to mutiny were circulated among the soldiers. One of them thus invokes the loyalty of the Irish then serving under Washington:—"I am happy in acquainting the old-countrymen that the affairs of Ireland are fully settled, and that Great Britain and Ireland are united as well from interest as from affection." But not then nor since did the day arrive that saw England and Ireland united in affection or interest; and upon that occasion, as upon many others, the Irish soldier could remember nothing in connexion with the English name, save that it was a blight on the destiny of his country. How he acted there and elsewhere it is needless to tell.

Congress, ever anxious for the fate of the army, appointed three commissioners to inquire into its privations, and report on the means of remedying them. Their report concludes thus—"that the patience of the soldiers, borne down by the pressure of complicated sufferings, was

on the point of being exhausted." The result of this intelligence only exhibited the inability of the country to meet the difficulty. But, with a sense of that inability, spread through the land a strong purpose to save the army at any cost. The citizens of Philadelphia, forming an association for the purpose of raising voluntary contributions for the support of the soldiers, subscribed in a few days 300,000 dollars. An effort so exalted should be successful. Its first result was to give time for mature arrangements. The military commissioners, availing themselves of their uncontrolled authority, made such dispositions as to insure the efficiency, permanence, and security of the military establishment of the country. As the plans to effect this were being matured, the allied army of France arrived at the shores of America. Six thousand Frenchmen landed on Rhode Island, prepared to cooperate under General Washington with the army of America. The day of their
July 10. arrival was one of jubilee and prayer. But the navy of England immediately blocked up both troops and vessels, and for a long time prevented their expected junction.

During this year every enterprise of America seemed beset with fatality. But one calamity befel her of more mortification than all her other mischances. Arnold, the soldier in whom she prided, and who so often bore her spangled banner to victory, was meditating her betrayal. No man enjoyed a higher fame. His name was never spoken but with pride. His exploits inspired the rising genius of his country. In betraying that

country, he sold a priceless fame. In private he had many vices. He was prodigal, exacting, and licentious—like Cataline, "alieni appetens sui profusus." But his dazzled countrymen saw only his military daring and success, and their estimation of his character was unqualified worship. Had he, after retiring from the walls of Quebec, when unjustly superseded in command, and left to ruminate on their ingratitude, as it may not unnaturally appear to him—had he then deserted his colours, and fled to a service where his worth would be better appreciated, history would gladly magnify the injuries he received, in order to blot out his shame. But it was not so. His treachery is unredeemed even by a weakness.

Soliciting the command of Westpoint, the strongest fort in America, he determined to make his treason consummate in its results with his former deeds of daring. Washington unsuspectingly committed the fort to one whose valour excluded all suspicion of his fidelity. No sooner was he invested with the command than the negociations of treason commenced. The arrangement was that Westpoint should be surprised by connivance of Arnold, and the garrison placed in such a position as to render any resistance impossible. The *Vulture* sloop-of-war bore up the river so as to afford means of communication between Sir H. Clinton and Arnold. Major Andre was commissioned to carry on the negotiation. Fatal mission for him—he died a spy's death in reward for a service no part of the shame of which was attributable to him. A boat conveyed him on

shore. He met Arnold without the posts of either army. Their conference wore away the night, and to return by day would be destruction. He allowed himself to be concealed, contrary to express stipulation, within the American lines. Another night came, and the boatmen refused to brave a strong gale that then prevailed. Thus disappointed, Andre consented to the humiliation of disguise and a changed name, for the purpose of escaping by land to his quarters. He rode with a passport, and had nearly completed the dangerous part of his journey, when, mistaking three of the New York militiamen, who demanded his passport, for loyalists, he acknowledged he was a British officer. His interrogators then arrested and searched him. From the papers which they found concealed in his boots, they read with horror all the particulars of Arnold's treason in his own hand. Andre, thus detected, offered them a purse of gold, a valuable watch, and, if they accompanied him, lasting and high rewards in England's service. The humble virtue of the New York militiamen spurned the proffered bribe. They delivered their captive to Captain Jameson, then commanding the American scouts. Andre was tried and convicted as a spy. Clinton remonstrated, and the most menacing correspondence suspended for a few days the fate of the unfortunate, brave, and beloved young Englishman, whose lofty deportment won the respect and even regret of those who condemned him to a spy's shameful death. Entreaty, argument, remonstrance, were vain. Arnold was then in the camp of Clinton. The victim petitioned for

a soldier's death;—he was refused. "Must I die in this manner?" he bitterly exclaimed. "Inevitably," was the stern reply. "Well, then, it will be but a momentary pang!" His last words were—"You will witness to the world that I die like a brave man."*

Arnold, raised to the post of Brigadier-General in the royal army, was urged by a sinister ambition to publish to the world an attempted justification of his treason. And he dared to call on others to imitate his example. His justification was a coward's plea, and would equally vindicate every traitor who deserts the colours raised by himself. "All he ever wanted was a redress of grievances," and for this only he unsheathed his sword. Britain was now ready to grant the terms for which he took up arms, and he was satisfied! What matters it that this involved a lie, extending over a long career? Those who are prepared to betray must have learned to lie.

* Ramsay, p. 499.

CHAPTER XVI.

Mutiny in the Army—French Loan—Arnold an enemy—Morgan—Greene—Their Victory, and Retreat into Virginia—Pursuit by Cornwallis—Battle on the confines of South Carolina—Cornwallis's Retreat—Success of the American arms in Carolina—Virginia—Cornwallis and Lafayette.

The first check was given to American credit by reducing the value of the paper currency to one fourth its amount. This caused a wide shock and struck deeply at the public faith. America has not yet recovered from its consequences. But in the beginning of 1781, this breach of public honour was consummated. The bills to which were pledged the faith of Congress suddenly became valueless, and their holders felt as if they had been the subject of a juggle. The nation that endured such universal deception on the part of its government, and still determined to sustain that government with life and fortune, must be deeply stung with a sense of wrong, and as deeply determined to win a free destiny. America rose up from the blow as if it had not been, and pursued her course unwaveringly. Worse calamities, too, came in the wake of this. The Jersey and Pennsylvania regiments openly mutinied. This time the officers they most loved remonstrated in vain. "We are not going to our enemies," said they; "we would fight now as we ever fought, but we can no longer bear with our privations." With this declaration they left the

camp, 1,300 men. Their after conduct proved they had spoken truth. Sir H. Clinton offered them all that Congress was unable to give. But in their utmost distress and abandonment of all discipline or control, they spurned his offer, and delivered over to General Wayne the negotiators he had sent among them. An accommodation was afterwards effected, and by the verdict of a court-martial, Clinton's negotiators were hanged as spies. Another revolt followed, but it was unimportant and was stifled by a strong avenging hand. Two of the revolters were hanged in face of their comrades.

Meantime the wealth and power and genius of England were gathering in their strength for a decisive blow; and the King of France, anxious to avert that blow, and break her sceptre, lent 6,000,000 livres to Congress, and negotiated a further loan for it with the Netherlands. At New York it was determined to carry the war into the heart of the country, and sweep with terrible vengeance all the provinces. To Arnold was committed the invasion of Virginia. Washington opposed to him the sword of Lafayette with 1,200 men. He also proposed to the French Admiral to co-operate with his countryman. This proposal was eagerly accepted, and a squadron at once sailed for the Chesapeake. But the movement was no sooner known than Arbuthnot sailed in pursuit of it. They were met off Virginia, and a stubborn struggle, which ended in nothing decisive, resulted in the return of the French squadron to Rhode Island. Arnold with 1,600 men, was meantime in possession of Ports-

Mar. 16.

mouth, and his unchecked career of license threatened to lay waste the fair and fertile province of Virginia. He was joined by Colonel Philips, with 2,000 men and the state seemed to be completely at their mercy. Destruction swept the face of the earth for months, during which property to an incalculable amount was consumed.

But let us turn from the track of pillage to trace the operations of the more southern armies. Greene arrived in North Carolina, and assumed the dangerous command which Gates reluctantly but with dignity resigned into his hands. Lord Cornwallis was on the other hand making preparations for a descent upon North Carolina. General Morgan, whom our readers will recognise, was despatched to a position on the western frontiers in South Carolina. Cornwallis, not wishing to move forward, leaving him in his rear, commissioned Tarleton to rout him. Tarleton's orders were to push him to the utmost, and with a determination equally decisive, Morgan prepared to resist. Their armies were very unequal, but both resolved the strife should be conclusive. The Americans were first to give way. But the bravery and skill of Lieutenant Colonels Washington and Howard redeemed this disaster, and changed retreat into fierce, successive and successful charges.

Jan. 17.

The astonished British reeled beneath these shocks, were broken and at last fled, leaving 300 dead on the field, 500 prisoners in the hands of the Americans, and all their artillery and baggage. The latter lost but twelve men, and only sixty were wounded. Cornwallis, deeply mortified

by this result, took instant measures to pursue Morgan. The latter anticipating his design, was equally active in eluding him. Greene, too, deeply solicitous for his escape, quitted his own division, and fixing a point on the high-road to Virginia, whither he ordered it to proceed by the most rapid marches, there to form a junction with Morgan, he flew to Morgan and undertook in person to conduct the retreat. Cornwallis immediately followed upon his track; and of all the hard services, imposed by the entire struggle, this retreat was perhaps the most severe. The pursuers were able, through every step of that long retreat, to trace the Americans by a track of blood. And amid all the severities of winter weather, the troops lived upon raw vegetables, unground corn, and, in fact, everything which may be classed as forage, with the exception, perhaps, of hay. Frequently a swollen river, or a narrow defile, only separated them from their pursuers. The pursuit continued without the least interruption, from the 20th of January to the 14th of February, when Greene's army, having on that day marched forty miles, crossed the Dan into Virginia. Lord Cornwallis arrived at the Dan just timely enough to see, with sorrow, that this river, which it was impossible to cross, when at all opposed, rolled between him and his prey. Turning his attention to the state of North Carolina, he despatched Tarleton, with about 500 men to encourage the loyalists. Lee and Pickens, active American volunteers, were immediately on his track; and bodies of loyalists collecting to his standard, were cut off. Tarleton, not relish-

ing the presence of such dangerous enemies, slowly fell back on the main body of the army. Meantime, Greene, having received some accession of strength, re-crossed the Dan. His forces were speedily augmented, and he resolved to give battle to Cornwallis, within ten miles of whom he had continued nearly a fortnight. Cornwallis, now inferior in point of numbers, but confident in the discipline, coolness, and valour of his veterans, rejoiced in an event for which he had toiled so hard. The battle began by a brisk cannonade, opening simultaneously from both camps. The British, in the first pause of the fire, advanced in three columns. The first line of the Americans gave way, before the enemy even approached them. But the second line, composed of the regular troops, extricating themselves from the confusion, boldly stood their ground, and the action became hot and terrific. The Americans, greatly reduced in strength by the disorder of their first line, continued the conflict for hours with fair prospects of success. But the discipline and endurance of the veterans at length prevailed, and Greene was compelled to order a retreat. The British did not attempt pursuit, and Greene encamped within three miles of the field, where Cornwallis enjoyed a barren and dear victory. The loss, including several staff officers, was very serious, and nearly equal at both sides. Cornwallis's proclamation, dated from the field, indulged in the boast of triumph; but the next day his hurried march on Wilmington, leaving his sick and wounded to the mercy of his opponent, attested

March 15.

that though the winning, he was the beaten man. Greene became in turn a pursuer, and for several days and nights pressed close upon his rear. He checked his course at Ramsay's Mills on Deep River, and formed the bold design of again returing to South Carolina. At the same time Cornwallis, by a counter movement, entered Virginia. Greene, however, pursued his original plan. His return raised once more the hopes and courage of the inhabitants. Armed men appeared as if they started from the earth.—Every British post from the capital to the extremity of the province was taken. Greene marched direct upon Camden, where Lord Rawdon, with about 1,000 men kept post. He was too strongly intrenched to admit of being assaulted. Greene, therefore, encamped at about a mile's distance in the hope of luring Rawdon from his defences. The intrepidity of Rawdon answered his expectation. He sallied from his encampment, April 25.
and fell suddenly and furiously on Greene's army. The conflict was fierce but short. Once more Greene was compelled to retreat. He conducted it with great skill and success, and removed only five miles from his foe. The latter again retired to his post. But while Greene was unequal to his opponent, a series of successes the most brilliant, crowned the operations of the Americans in the war of posts. Day by day the British lines of defence were contracted. Rawdon, though victorious, evacuated Camden, and fell back. His army was hourly reinforced by the garrisons of the outposts who were everywhere compelled to retreat. Greene, panting to free

the province closed round the contracting sphere of the British, until they were driven back on the rich districts almost in the vicinity of Charlestown. The whole British force was now encamped at Eutaw Springs. Greene coming up with them determined on risking a general engagement. His assault was intrepid and well sustained. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, victorious on many a field in the successful guerilla that forced the British back on this plain, fell mortally wounded in the first ontset. He lived to be told that the British were flying, and went to rest on a victorious field, "content." The British lost 1,100 men in killed and wounded—the Americans over 500 among whom were sixty officers.

A rich harvest rewarded the toil of the continentals, and the British thenceforth confined themselves to the immediate vicinity of the capital.

The ravages of war, from which from the day of the battle of Eutaw, South Carolina may be said to be free, were wasting the fair fields of Virginia under the banners of Philips and Cornwallis, whom the young Marquis De Lafayette, with an inferior force was endeavouring to cope with. The face of nature was blackened under the blasting scourge, and the whole country was one wide waste. Reinforcements from New York, amounting to 1500 men, arrived soon after the junction of Philips and Cornwallis. With a force not one fourth in number, and still more disproportioned from want of discipline arms and stores, Lafayette strove to baffle the pursuit

of the combined army. With wonderful address he impressed Lord Cornwallis with the belief that he led an army superior to his own, and manœuvered in the manner he did with the sole view of involving him in some difficulty. This feeling considerably checked the eagerness of the pursuit. By an unexpected mischance Lafayette was separated from his stores, which Cornwallis perceived, and he at once attempted to cut them off. This attempt promised an instant and decisive engagement. Both armies were equally near the stores and marching in almost parallel lines. When Cornwallis was sure of this, Lafayette, by a most masterly movement executed in the night, placed himself directly in front of him. Cornwallis saw with undisguised amazement the position and determination of his foe, and still impressed with his former idea of his strength and purpose, he thought fit to retire. He first fell back on Richmond, but finding himself hotly pressed as he thought, he further retreated on Williamsburg.

The tide of fortune began to turn. In the hour of most gloom better prospects smiled suddenly on the destinies of America. The fleets of France appeared off the Chesapeake about the same time that Greene was closing his iron circle around Charlestown, and Sir H. Clinton was preparing to repel an attack on York and Staten Island.s Cornwallis was apprised that instead of receiving, he should be prepared to part with considerable reinforcements, now needed for the defence of New York, round which Washington was closing with the main American army.

But Washington's preparations for this grand enterprise were suddenly marred, and his fairest hopes blasted. He had engaged with the French general at Rhode Island to be prepared with a certain number of men to invest New York early in summer. His sanguine proclamation, calling for new levies, was unanswered. The number of recruits that had joined the army by the promised time, did not reach more than half the stipulated amount. Deeply did he feel, what to a great man is the severest of all trials, his total inability to redeem his pledge. But there was no room for doubt or hesitation. He bore the failure with magnanimity, and at once proposed a change of purpose and of action. This was to march the combined army to the aid of Lafayette, and co-operate with the French fleet on the coasts of Virginia, now deluged with blood and devastated by unrelenting enemies. Sir Henry Clinton was making sedulous preparations for his own defence; he saw both armies pass without any idea of their purpose and without molesting one man that formed their advance or fell to their rear. With colours flying, hopes elate, and unimpeded progress, that army, the finest America yet saw, hastened to the succour of Lafayette, before whom, with his very inferior force, Cornwallis fled and took shelter in Yorktown, where the co-operation of the British fleet would, as he fancied, enable him to resist any assault and defy any blockade. The combined army arrived before Yorktown on the 30th of September, and lay all that night under arms. They were 12,000 strong. They were led in

person by their first military chief, aided by all the talent and courage in the American service. The French fleet lay in the Chesapeake, and however impregnable seemed the works which protected Yorktown, Washington proceeded to invest it with an unerring and unfaultering purpose, to capture or destroy the proud British army that defended it.

He commenced his second parallel 200 yards from the works of the besieged. Two redoubts, in the advance of the British, impeded the work and dealt death among the workmen. To storm then became an object of discussion, and was at once decided on. The French chose one and the Americans another. After a desperate resistance both were taken, with great loss to their gallant defenders. But feats of daring were not confined to the Americans. The British made many successful sallies. One was projected by Lieutenant-Colonel Abercromby, whose name in aftertimes gathered glory from so many fields. He led 400 men, forced two redoubts, and spiked several cannon though defended by a vastly superior force. But trifling advantages, occurring in the midst of operations of such magnitude, were of no permanent avail; and as the siege progressed, Cornwallis found that his hope of coping with so superior a force and of receiving succour from the navy, was delusive. The batteries of the besiegers frowned on every part of the town, and his intrenchments were quickly giving way. He reluctantly yielded to the conviction that there was but one alternative, to capitulate or to fly. He decided on the latter. Boats were in readiness

to convey his troops to Gloucester point, whence flight was deemed practicable. A storm frustrated the attempt before the first debarkation took place. But one thing remained—to capitulate on any terms. His own to the garrison of Charlestown led him to expect the hardest. He wrote to Washington, praying for an armistice of 24 hours, and the appointment of commissioners to adjust the conditions of the capitulation. One of these commissioners was Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens, whose father at that moment occupied a cell in the Tower of London, of which Cornwallis was constable. The history of Laurens, the prisoner, is one of peculiar interest, nor will the readers of this narrative murmur to find it interrupted here by a few of its leading details. Laurens was at the time of the surrender of his jailor, nearly a year a prisoner on a charge of high treason. He endured all the privations of solitary confinement. An old English friend undertook to procure his release. He waited with that view on the Secretaries of State. His offer from them was, upon "condition of his pointing out anything for the benefit of Great Britain in the present dispute with the colonies." "I perceive from your message," he replied, "that if I were a rascal I might presently get out of the Tower. . . . I can foresee what will come to pass, but I fear no possible consequence."

Soon after the same friend, abjuring the friendship, made another offer, which he begged he would take time to consider. "An honest man," said he, "requires no time to give an answer in a case where his honor is concerned." The nego-

tiation was continued, however, and the conditions were reduced at last to the simple expression of his regret. "I will never subscribe to my own infamy and to the dishonor of my children," was his final answer.

On the last day of the year 1781 Laurens left the Tower, not only without conditions, but asserting that he was a citizen of a free state, and would not accept his enlargement except at a price, and would prevail on his country to enlarge in return the Earl Cornwallis.

While he was a prisoner these were the terms proposed by his son to Lord Cornwallis, and accepted by him:—

"The troops to be prisoners of war to Congress, and the naval force to France. The officers to retain their side-arms and private property of every kind; but all property, obviously belonging to the inhabitants of the United States, to be subject to be reclaimed. The soldiers to be kept in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, and to be supplied with the same rations as are allowed to soldiers in the service of Congress. A proportion of the officers to march into the country with the prisoners; the rest to be allowed to proceed on parole to Europe, to New York, or to any other American maritime post in possession of the British."

Cornwallis endeavoured to obtain permission to march out of the town with colours flying, but General Lincoln, who received his submission, refused, reminding him of his own terms at Charlestown. His application that the foreign troops in his service should be allowed to return to their native countries was denied; and were it not that permission to despatch a sloop-of-war to New York, enabled him to secrete many of the Americans who betrayed their country to

serve in his ranks, he would be refused the pardon he earnestly implored for them.

The regular troops of France and America, employed in this siege, consisted of about 7,000 of the former, and 5,500 of the latter; and they were assisted by about 4,000 militia. On the part of the combined army about 300 were killed or wounded. On the part of the British about 500; and 70 were taken in the redoubts, which were carried by assault on the 14th of October. The troops of every kind that surrendered prisoners of war, exceeded 7,000 men, but so great was the number of sick and wounded, that there were only 3,800 capable of bearing arms. The French and American engineers and artillery merited and received the highest applause. Brigadiers-General Du Portail and Knox were both promoted to the rank of Major-General, on account of their meritorious services. Lieutenant-Colonel Gouvion and Captain Rochefontaine, of the corps of engineers, respectively received brevets, the former to the rank of a Colonel, and the latter to the rank of a Major.

Congress honored General Washington, Count de Rochambeau, Count de Grasse, and the officers of the different corps, and the men under them, with thanks for their services in the reduction of Lord Cornwallis. The whole project was conceived with profound wisdom, and the incidents of it had been combined with singular propriety. It is not, therefore, wonderful that, from the remarkable coincidence in all its parts, it was crowned with unvaried success.

The capture of Lord Cornwallis, and his army

of rapacity, spread unspeakable gladness throughout America. If ever tidings of joy may be said with truth to be insupportable, these claimed title to be so. The steps of that army in its day of triumph were traceable in ruin and ashes. No scourge breaking from the hand of an angry God ever left behind it wider or more indiscriminate ruin. Even criminals and prisoners were allowed to share in the national jubilee; for by an order of the Commander-in-Chief they were pardoned and set free. The state felt that the best expression of its thanks to God was an imitation of his mercy. Blessed gratitude! raising man towards Divinity, in exercising the divine attribute of remission and pardon, not because they are deserved, but because it is Godlike to forgive. Washington enjoined on the army the obligation of thanksgiving and prayer. And Congress decreed that the 13th of December should be kept holy.

Once more we are compelled to fall back on the work of plunder and burning, conducted under the genius of Arnold. This time his native state, Connecticut, became the theatre of his ravages. The immediate object of his attack was the town of New London. His forces were divided into two detachments—one led by himself, the other by Colonel Eyre. The outposts were stormed without any loss, and their defenders pursued hotly over the second lines. There, too, their resistance was short and unavailing. One of the officers asked as he entered the fort, "who commands?" Colonel Ledyard answered—"I did, but you do now;" and pre-

Sept. 6.

sented his sword. 'Twas his last act,—he was instantly run through. No quarter was given. While some were busy in setting fire to the place, others were wearied with slaughter; but they only relieved the garrison from the more awful death of burning. In a short time nothing remained of the town but carcasses and cinders. Arnold returned to New York; but he left behind him, in the ashes of New London, the corpse of his associate in arms.

The campaign of 1781, of which this was only an incident, may be now considered as closed. The British were confined to New York, Charlestown, and Georgia, where the government of England still held tottering sway.

CHAPTER XVII.

Parliament—The King—The Ministers—Rodney—Battle off the Chesapeake—Peace—The Army Disbanded—Farewell of Washington—Resignation of his Command—He is appointed President—The End.

EVEN the news of Cornwallis's capture, which reached England late in November, daunted not the British minister. Addressing parliament in the king's name, he said—that for no consideration would he surrender "*those essential rights and permanent interests, upon the maintenance and preservation of which, the future strength and security of the country must for ever depend.*"

But his power had nearly passed. The opposition proposed that the war should be abandoned, without condescending to say on what terms. This resolution was defeated, but by a feeble majority. Again, the same attempt was made, but in a different form. General Conway proposed that an address be presented to his Majesty, imploring him to compel his ministers to a peace with America. The resolution was lost by a majority of only one. Once more, but varied in words, the same proposition was submitted to the House of Commons, and affirmed by a majority of 234 to 215.

Dec. 12.

Jan. 4, 1782.

Feb. 22.

The minister answered, through the King's

mouth, that he would take the measures he deemed conducive to the restoration of harmony between him and the revolted colonies.

The House deemed the answer evasive, and again resolved, that any one who counselled a continuance of the war was the enemy of England. Under this blow the ministry fell. Lord Rockingham, a leading member of the opposition, formed the new administration, on a clear understanding with the King and his heterogeneous colleagues, that there should be a termination put to the war, even on condition of American independence.

During the ministerial struggle, the flag of England was proudly extending her conquests over the empire of the sea. Admiral Rodney, one of the highest names in naval history, was upon the ocean, with, as it then seemed, the impracticable design of preventing the junction of Count De Grasse and the Spanish admiral at Hispaniola, where it was agreed they should begin a career of wide conquest over every one of England's rich dependencies. Had this junction taken place, there seemed no escape for her vast possessions, and no check to such formidable designs of conquest. Rodney's sole hope was in meeting De Grasse while alone. Fortune favoured that hope, and with bounding heart he descried his enemy. De Grasse resolved to try chances with him alone. For three days they skirmished, and on the morning of the fourth the action became general. Every sail, every cannon, and every mariner in both fleets were engaged; —cannonade and broadside—grappling and board-

April 8.

ing—the trumpet's voice and the cry of death filled the wide space between sea and heaven for nearly the entire day. The din of the conflict echoed from the far shores, and the carnage as well as success seemed undecided, when Rodney by a master movement bore down upon the enemy's line, managing his vessel as a rider manages a generous steed, and broke the order of battle. It was a new and fearful experiment, but decisive in its results. The strength upon which France so much relied was scattered, and her proud fleet a wreck. France and Spain together bowed before this fatal blow. The latter, too, had the mortification of being compelled to abandon the siege of Gibraltar, after expending on it vast resources and reducing the fort to the very verge of ruin.

The war on the continent was waning fast. Washington returned with his victorious army to the neighbourhood of New York, where no further operations seemed to be contemplated. General Greene, who appeared to have the fate of Charlestown in his hands, received large reinforcements, and detached General Wayne with a division of the army for the re-conquest of Georgia. Clarke, who commanded in the Savannah, hearing of the Americans' approach prepared to repel them. Colonel Brown with a large force marched out of the garrison, with the apparent intention of attacking them. Wayne, by a skilful movement, turned his rear, and intercepted his retreat. An action commenced. Large bodies of Indians enlisted under the colours of England, fought desperately,

but were with their British allies completely routed. This victory confined the British in Georgia to Savannah, and the republican government was restored in that long distracted state. As the summer wore on without any decisive operation, the southern armies of England were withdrawn from Charlestown and Savannah. The English flag, for the last time, waving in retreat over these coasts, to which it had so often threatened ruin, bore off to sea.

July 11.

Sir Guy Carleton, the brave defender of Quebec, was now the envoy of England, as well as the commander of her American army. Before the formation of the new ministry, he addressed General Washington, informing him of the disposition of parliament, and his own anxiety to conclude a general peace. He demanded a passport for his secretary, Mr. Morgan, to wait on Congress. Washington sternly refused, on the ground that he could have no object in waiting on Congress, except the usual purposes of English intrigue. The first encroachment on their liberties was not more angrily resented by the Americans than this attempt, which they considered made with a view of engaging Congress in terms of peace apart from their allies. Congress, embodying the public will in a resolution, determined "that they would not enter into the discussion of any overtures for peace, but in confidence and concert with his Most Christian Majesty."

May, 1782.

Recommending a similar resolution to each separate state, Congress appointed John Adams,

Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Lawrens, the Tower prisoner, negotiators, to enter into preliminary articles of peace, with commissioners to be appointed on the part of Great Britain. This offer was not rejected. The wide success elsewhere attending her arms did not blind England's new council to the fatality of further pursuing this unnatural war. Messrs. Fitz-Herbert and Oswald undertook to negotiate for England. On the 30th of November, 1782, the plenipotentiaries agreed. The terms were only preliminary, to be considered conclusive in the event of peace between France and England, and to be a part of any definitive treaty between both these powers. But they were of momentous import to England, America, and the world. They recognised a new independent nation, with almost boundless territory, and unrestrained commerce and rights of fishery. They sacrificed, too, the confiscated property of the royalists; and the English commissioners contented themselves with making the necessities of their partizans the subject of a recommendation.

Hallowed recompense for so long a struggle, such hard toil, unexampled privations, and exalted virtue! The sun of peace shone mildly down upon a liberated country.

But out of its first glow was generated a new element of difficulty. The army, brave beyond example, enduring beyond anything that it was thought human strength could cope with, were worn with years and toil, and without reward. A spirit of dissension was kindled among them,

the more difficult to be quelled because it was impossible to deny its justice. Love of discipline and a soldier's honour were the only appeals from threatened anarchy. They were the highest and purest impulses of Washington. He called the officers together, and impressed on them these two noble principles. The same arguments from any other tongue might have been in vain, but his accents were loved too well. The result of the General's recommendation was this resolution:—

RESOLVED—"That no circumstances of distress or danger, should induce a conduct that might tend to sully the reputation the army had acquired; and that they continued to have the utmost confidence in the justice of Congress, and of their country, and viewed with abhorrence, and rejected with disdain, the infamous propositions in the late anonymous address to the officers and the army."

This resolution was faithfully observed. The army was soon disbanded, at first gradually and by means of furloughs; and, finally, by a general order of Congress. They received four months' pay in lieu of all the arrears due to them, and retired, for the most part, to the pursuits they had abandoned for the defence of their country. The most cherished memorial that lit up their homes and hearts thereafter was, the farewell of him who led them to victory. It concluded thus.*

Nov. 25. The evacuation of New York soon followed. The fleet of England bore over the waters her discomfited, but not dishonoured army; and the Atlantic rolled between her

* See Appendix No. 2.

power and vengeance, and the liberated people—now a free nation—lately her despised province. England's heart was subdued, but a mighty nation was born.

The soldiers had gone to their homes. The clang of arms was heard no more upon the continent; yet was there something which hung in silent disquiet on the minds of men. A great act of magnanimity was yet to be performed, that which history lingers over with most pride, and shall be one of its brightest examples, until history itself shall cease with time. No man however need doubt; for the act was to be performed by George Washington.

His journey to the last scene of his military career, was one of triumph and blessings. He scarcely delayed to receive the benedictions of his country, so anxious was he to surrender to her senators a command which he deemed incompatible with her new-born liberties. Two days before Christmas Day he laid down his power, closing, as he himself expressed it, "the military scene for ever."

America, now really free—free from anarchy and despotism—while she awoke to the greatness, awoke also to the difficulties of her destiny. Her debts, her neglected agriculture, her feeble resources, and imperfect constitution engaged the ability and energy of her best citizens. Our task is nearly done. The revolution is accomplished. To follow General Washington into his retirement would be intrusion; but this volume cannot close until it accompanies the petition of his country, now with a new constitution and

ameliorated circumstances, praying that he would honour her, by fulfilling the highest civil functions she had to bestow. He answered that call, as he answered her former prayer; and first in her councils sat the chief of her deliverers. His acceptance and address will be found in the Appendix.* No more remains to be said, save—pardon it good reader—a fervent aspiration, that the institutions he blessed—one stain removed—may endure everlastingly!

* No. 3.

APPENDIX I.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, JULY 4, 1776.

WHEN in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them,—a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident:—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; and whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter and abolish it, and to institute a new government; laying its foundation on such principles, and organising its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence indeed will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed; but when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to

throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government.

The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations; all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states; to prove this, let facts be admitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature;—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representatives' houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolution, to cause others to be created, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalisation of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the

tenure of their offices and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people and eat out their subsistence.

He has kept among us in times of peace standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowleged by our laws; giving his consent to their pretended acts of legislation:

For quartering large bodies of troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us in many cases of the benefit of trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond the seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province; establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries; so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments:

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous

ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilised nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their own hands.

He has excited domestic insurrection amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren: we have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us: we have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here: we have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity: we must therefore acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; and that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they

have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things, which independent states may of right do: and for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we may mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

BUTTON GWINNETT.
LYNAM HALL.
GEORGE WALTON.
WILLIAM HOOPER.
JOSEPH HEWES.
JOHN PENN.
EDWARD RUTLEDGE.
THOMAS HEYWARD, JUN.
THOMAS LYNCH, JUN.
ARTHUR MIDDLETON.
GEORGE WYTHE.
RICHARD HENRY LEE.
THOMAS JEFFERSON.
SAMUEL CHASE.
WILLIAM PACA.
THOMAS STONE.
CHARLES CARROLL, *of Carrollton.*
ROBERT MORRIS.
BENJAMIN RUSH.
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.
JOHN MORTON.
GEORGE CLYMER.
JAMES SMITH.
GEORGE TAYLOR.
JAMES WILSON.
GEORGE ROSS.
ABRAHAM CLARK.
JOHN HANCOCK.
WILLIAM FLOYDS.
PHILIP LIVINGSTON.
FRANCIS LEWIS.
LEWIS MORRIS.
RICHARD HORKTON.
CÆSAR RODNEY.
GEORGE READ.
THOMAS M. KEAT.
BENJAMIN HARRISON.
THOMAS NELSON, JUN.
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE.
CARTER BRAXTON.
JAMES WITHERSPOAL.
FRANCIS HOPKINSON.
JOHN HART.
JOSIAH BARTLETT.
WILLIAM WHIPPLE.
SAMUEL ADAMS.
ROBERT TREAT PAINE.
ELBRIDGE GERRY.
STEPHEN HOPKINS.
WILLIAM ELLERY.
ROGER SHERMAN.
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON.
WILLIAM WILLIAMS.
OLIVER WALCOTT.
MATTHEW THORNTON.

APPENDIX II.

THE RESIGNATION OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

"MR. PRESIDENT,

"The great events on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I have now the honour of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself to them, to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

"Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States, of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the union, and the patronage of Heaven. The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

"While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the gentlemen who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate. Permit me, Sir, to recommend, in particular, those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favourable notice and patronage of Congress.

"I consider it as an indispensable duty, to close this last act of my official life by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping.

"Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action, and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

TO THIS THE PRESIDENT RETURNED THE FOLLOWING ANSWER.

"SIR,

"The United States in Congress assembled, receive with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success through a perilous and a doubtful war. Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge, before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without funds or a government to support you. You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes. You have, by the love and confidence of your fellow citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity. You have persevered, till these United States, aided by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enabled, under a just Providence, to close the war in freedom, safety, and independence; on which happy event we sincerely join you in congratulations.

"Having defended the standard of liberty in this new world; having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict, and those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action with the blessings of your fellow citizens: but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command; it will continue to animate remotest ages.

"We feel with you our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interests of those confidential officers, who have attended your person to this affecting moment.

"We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens, to improve the opportunity afforded them of becoming a happy and respectable nation. And for you, we address to him our earnest prayers, that a life so beloved, may be fostered with all his care; that your days may be happy as they have been illustrious; and that he will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give."

APPENDIX III.

"FELLOW CITIZENS OF THE SENATE, AND OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

"Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties, than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month—On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years: a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health, to the gradual waste committed on it by time.—On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence, one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver, is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance, by which it might be affected. All I dare hope is, that, if in executing this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance

former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendant proof of the confidence of my fellow citizens; and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination, for the weighty and untried cares before me; my *error* will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

"Such being the impressions under which I have in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station; it would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe—who presides in the councils of nations—and whose providential aids can supply every human defect—that His benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes; and may enable every instrument employed in its administration, to execute with success, the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the Great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own; nor those of my fellow citizens at large, less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible Hand, which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations, and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking, that there are none under the influence of

which, the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

"By the article establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the President "to recommend to your consideration, such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." The circumstances under which I now meet you will acquit me from entering into that subject, farther than to refer to the great constitutional charter under which you are assembled, and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute, in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In those honourable qualifications, I behold the surest pledges that as on one side no local prejudices, or attachments—no separate views, nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests; so, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the pre-eminence of free government, be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world. I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire. Since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous people, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity. Since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven, can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained. And since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as *deeply*, perhaps as *finally* staked,

on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

"Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide, how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the 5th article of the constitution, is rendered expedient at the present juncture by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them.

"Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good.

"For I assure myself that whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of an united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lesson of experience; a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question, how far the former can be more impregnably forfeited, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

"To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible.

"When I was first honoured with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments, which may be indispensibly included in a permanent provision for the executive department; and must accordingly pray, that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed, may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

"Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as

they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together—I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that since He has been pleased to favor the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government, for the security of their union, and the advancement of their happiness; so His Divine blessing may be equally *conspicuous* in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures, on which the success of this government must depend."

THE END.

Stereotyped and Printed by T. Coldwell, 50, Capel-street.